SPIS TREŚCI

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BETWEEN LIGHT AND SHADOWS:
REFLECTING ON VARIED CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PECULIAR LAMBENCY SUFFUSING GOTHIC CHURCHES AS EVIDENCED BY GERMAN LITERATURE FROM THE LATTER DECADES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

What seems to emanate from the dominant tenor permeating the scholarship dedicated to exploring the early nineteenth century resurgence of stained-glass ornamentation is the significant function ascribed to the variegated 'mystical' twilight, which is thought to have played a pivotal role in the expansion of the renewed interest in this form of art.[1] However, within the compass of this artistic genre, no efforts have hitherto been taken to attempt comprehensive research into the reasons behind the fascination at the time with that kind of ambient interior illumination, nor has there been any serious discussion of the conceptual associations triggered by that kind of twilight.

Therefore it behooves any thorough art-historical investigation to comprehensively address the full spectrum of aspects underpinning this phenomenon, chief among them being aesthetic, religious and social matters as well as issues bound up with specific cultural idiosyncrasies and regional character. This article undertakes to outline, albeit in a preliminary and incomplete way, a handful of conclusions regarding the diversified perception of the ambient light inside Gothic churches. In addition, the remit of this paper is confined to the years at the turn of the nineteenth century, as well as being focused exclusively on publications in the German language; little wonder that with these self-imposed limitations, the contribution made by the ideas presented below can be but humble.

Seen through the eyes of Suger, Abbot of the French Abbey of Saint-Denis and the spiritus movens behind the early Gothic reconstruction of that church, as well as for some medieval authors singing the praises of the magnificence of churches of the medieval era, such interiors were literally awash with ambient resplendence.[2] Of course, one will justifiably call into question the absolute veracity or relevance of such depictions. This is because even though

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* A few passages from this article appeared in: T. Szybisty, 'Rola światła w percepcji gotyku pod koniec XVIII i na początku XIX wieku – na przykładzie wybranych utworów z literatury niemieckiej', in *Światło i ciemność w literaturze, kulturze i sztuce. Od antyku do współczesności*, ed. by D. Szymonik, E. Kozak, A. Pogoda-Kołodziejak, Siedlce, 2015, pp. 15–23.

[1] D. Parello, 'Anspruch und Wirklichkeit in der religiösen Kunstindustrie am Beispiel der rheinischen Glasmalereiwerkstätten Baudri und Oidtmann', in *Renaissance der Gotik. Widerstand gegen die Staatsgewalt? Kolloquium zur Kunst der Neugotik*, ed. by U. Schubert, S. Mann, Goch, 2003, p. 172. See, for example, also: D. Hess, 'Romantic Atmosphere and the Invocation of the Past. Motifs and Functions of Early Stained Glass Collections around 1800', *Revista de História da Arte*, 3: *Collecting through Connections. Glass and Stained-glass Collectors and Their Networks in the Nineteenth Century*, 2015, pp. 9–10; E. Vaassen, *Bilder auf Glas. Glasgemälde zwischen 1780 und 1870*, Munich and Berlin, 1997, p. 28; D. Parello, 'Helmle – Merzweiler – Geiges. Die Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Freiburg', in *Aufleuchten des Mittelalters. Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Freiburg*, exh. cat., Augustinermuseum Freiburg, 26. Mai bis 3. September 2000, Freiburg im Breisgau, 2000, p. 7.

[2] Numerous medieval texts on this subject are compiled and commented on by G. Binding, *Die Bedeutung von Licht und Farbe für den mittelalterlichen Kirchenbau*, Stuttgart, 2003 (Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 41, no. 3), pp. 129–171.

on the one hand the accounts may have reflected the actual first-hand impressionistic observations of the writers, on the other hand, such witnesses could very well have been swayed by contemporaneous prevailing rhetorical tropes and turns of phrase employed for the sake of verbalizing culturally recognizable associations. The provenance of such conceptual or cognitive mannerisms may have been bound up, for example, with the description of the Divine Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation, or it may even have lain in the metaphysics of light propounded by St Augustine or Dionysios Areopagitis,[3] with such hypotheses acquiring much plausibility given that a couple of centuries later the very same interiors inspired different characterizations, dominated rather by references to paucity of light.

Admittedly, that later perception of Gothic architecture may have been conditioned by developments in Renaissance and Baroque architecture, with a simultaneous trend towards ever-brighter standards for the illumination of interiors. In the era of the Enlightenment, the deliberate, increasingly 'dark' portrayal of the Middle Ages was underpinned by factors relating to symbology – light, by dint of emblematizing the new epoch and symbolizing rational understanding,[4] was in a sense 'commandeered' by the believers of the new rational creed, and henceforth had to be prevented from being attributable to a period deemed to have been dominated by ignorance, oppression and religious superstition. A case in point here is the comment passed in 1790 by Karl Ludwig von Knebel, a poet and friend of Goethe: he was genuinely looking forward to the expansion of the revolutionary upheaval in France, as in a letter to his sister he made disparaging reference to 'the Gothic shadows' (*gothische Finsternisse*), which to his mind symbolized the restriction of the freedoms possessed by the individual.[5] Interestingly, as aptly noted by Elgin Vaassen, the philosophy of Enlightenment was not only bent on blowing away the cobwebs of spiritual darkness, but also addressed itself to the brightening up of actual interiors.[6] This rationalist campaign led to the removal or destruction of many a stained-glass window panel in churches, either due to their poor state of repair or because it was a popular belief that the stained glass was responsible for the obfuscation of the interior and stultification of the faithful. The latter opinion can be found, for example, in a statement delivered in 1790 by Rev. Joseph Felician Geissinger from Freiburg im Breisgau.[7]

By the same token, however, the metaphoric investment of the Gothic style with darkness turned out to be an exceptionally efficacious strategy for the evocation of that frisson of emotion which underpinned the eighteenth century aesthetics of sublimity.[8] That fashion was transplanted from British literature, and the trend is exemplified by the local emulation of British 'graveyard poetry', where Gothic buildings or ruins were pressed into service with the express brief of affording that eerily atmospheric backdrop. A work that perfectly illustrates this lyrical bandwagon in Germany is the elegy *Wo bin ich? – in Einsiedeleyen* written by the young Herder, probably after his father died in 1763.[9]

The medieval architecture in Herder's elegy, enhancingly enveloped by sombre, dim shadows, is one of the numerous staple elements of the scenery which mediate the emergence of this uncanny sense of otherworldliness. What is more, in fact, it was the Gothic buildings themselves that singlehandedly succeeded in providing the *pièce de résistance* of any evocative setup. The consummate crystallization of such sufficiency comes courtesy of the genre of gothic novels which Norman Holland and Leona Sherman christened with a term that hits the nail on the head, and with a flourish, too: 'woman plus habitation',[10] with the designation being mandated by the authors' contention that medieval buildings featured in these literary works tend to lend themselves as a framework for the rise of turbulent emotions, commission of crimes and appearance of ghosts. Securely ensconced in this same lineage is Christian Heinrich Spieß's *Das Petermännchen*, a 1791 novel which was very popular with Goethe's contemporaries. The plot of the novel is set in the thirteenth century. The main character, Rudolph, the

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[3] The perception of light in the Gothic era has been succinctly presented and richly referenced by E. Kozina in '"Lauteres Gold wie durchsichtiges Glas" (Offb 21,21). Einige Überlegungen zum Lichtbegriff in der Zeit der großen Kathedralen', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 65, 2011, no. 1/2, pp. 28–34.

[4] K.E. Becker, *Licht – [L]lumière[s] – Siècle des Lumières. Von der Lichtmetapher zum Epochenbegriff der Aufklärung in Frankreich*, Cologne, 1994.

[5] Karl Ludwig von Knebel's letter to his sister Henrietta, Jan. 11th 1790, in *Aus Karl Ludwig von Knebels Briefwechsel mit seiner Schwester Henriette, Erzieherin der Prinzessin Karoline von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach (1774–1813). Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Hof- und Literaturgeschichte*, ed. by H. Düntzer, Jena, 1858, p. 107.

[6] E. Vaassen, *Bilder auf Glas*, p. 27 (as in note 1).

[7] Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg im Breisgau, ms. 498: Joseph Felician Geissinger, *Abschrifften von Epitaphien oder Grabschriften, welche in Unser lieben Frauen Münster, der pfarrkirche zu Freyburg in dem Breysgau befindlich seynd…*, p. 74 (manuscript scan: http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/geissinger1787, retrieved 21 January, 2019). I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Daniel Parello from Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland for bringing the passage to my attention.

[8] See among others: H. von Trotha, *Angenehme Empfindungen. Medien einer populären Wirkungsästhetik im 18. Jahrhundert vom Landschaftsgarten bis zum Schauerroman*, Munich, 1999, passim.

[9] J.G. Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by B. Suphan, vol. 29: *Eigene Gedichte*, ed. by K. Redlich, Berlin, 1889, p. 230; cf. P. Frankl, *The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*, Princeton, 1960, pp. 419–420; W. Dobbek, *Johann Gottfried Herders Jugendzeit in Mohrungen und Königsberg 1744–1764*, Würzburg, 1961, pp. 62–64.

[10] N.N. Holland, L.F. Sherman, 'Gothic Possibilities', *New Literary History*, 8, 1977, no. 2, p. 279.

last surviving scion of the Westerburger house, falls in love with Regina, the daughter of a knight named Otteweil, who will by no means assent to the lovers' marriage. Rudolph decides to abduct his beloved and together they journey to Westerburg Castle, where the priest who is to solemnize their union has suddenly been laid low with an infirmity depriving him of any speech faculty. The lovers have to wait until a monk summoned from the nearby cloister can perform the nuptial rites, albeit not until the following day. They treat themselves to a sumptuous feast, whereupon Rudolf wants to usher his companion to an improvised chamber. During the passage, Regina's attention is arrested by the spellbinding moon, peeking in through the lancet windows.[11] She registers a sudden desire to step outside the castle to appreciate the beauty of the scene, so the pair makes for a summerhouse in the nearby forest. The dim, shaded ambience of their shelter releases both of them from the shackles of propriety. Half an hour later the distraught and horrified girl rushes out of the forest. Tormented by a sense of guilt, she commits suicide before the night has passed. Here, the elements of Gothic architecture, silhouetted only by virtue of the glinting reflections of the moonlight, forebode the violation of the norms of morality, which triggers the tragic twist of the plot and leads to the death of Rudolf's beloved.

The arranged marriage, brokered by eighteenth century 'matchmaking' writers, between all things Gothic and shade or darkness has exhibited enormous longevity to date, and is still highly regarded as part of the staple inventory of key tropes and motifs employed by the literary genre of horror. In the latter decades of the eighteenth century darkness or subdued light was deemed an almost requisite circumstance for the full appreciation of Gothic architecture. The encapsulation of this sentiment can be discerned in one of Goethe's juvenile works, entitled *Von deutscher Baukunst* (1772), where the elucidation of the principles underlying the architectural concepts intrinsic to the design of Strasburg cathedral takes place by the subdued light of evening, rather than by daylight. This is the necessary facilitation empowering the observer to 'to enjoy and to understand'[12] the quiddity of the building. And the twilight prevailing in the interior came to the notice of Heinse, who visited the cathedral in 1780, en route to Italy. He later phrased his impressions in a laconic way: 'the area in close proximity to the choir becomes [...] more sacrosanct [...] and darker, too'.[13] Even though Heinse does not transcend the confines circumscribing the eighteenth century aesthetic concepts and perceives the cathedral's interior as a sublime environ, it can be suggested that he

stole a march on tradition, as the association between shade and sanctity espoused by him had hitherto been lost on German scholarship and lore at large. Therefore, it seems plausible that Heinse's pronouncement spurred the development of Romanticism's perception of shadows. A similar feeling of lofty sublimity evoked by darkness can be spotted in Georg Forster's comments in the wake of his visit to Cologne cathedral in 1790.[14]

Subdued light is also a feature elevated to the status of key significance for the perception of the Gothic in Goethe's novel published in 1809 and entitled *Elective Affinities*. It strikes readers as an occasionally ironic polemic with biological, philosophical and cultural conventional wisdom and discourse of the day.[15] The plot of the novel is set in the microcosm of a park, where Goethe choreographs the arrangement of stylistically and functionally diverse free-standing architectural structures. One of them is 'an old-German' church with a cemetery situated nearby. Charlotte, one of the four main characters of the novel, decides to have the gravestones from the cemetery embedded in the walls of the building. Thus the Gothic church metamorphoses into a lapidarium of sorts almost substantively entwined with death, thereby foreshadowing the subsequent development of the plot. In the course of a detailed inspection of the condition of the church, the main characters chance upon a chapel, which is later subjected to thorough refurbishment. The placement of the stained-glass window as the crowning glory of the renovation works is the moment when Ottilie experiences a 'mystical' vision in this newly restored interior:

> A solemn, beautiful light streamed in through the one tall window. It was filled with stained glass, gracefully put together. The entire chapel had thus received a strange tone, and a peculiar genius was thrown over it. [...] The parts which she knew so well now meeting her as an unfamiliar whole delighted Ottilie. She stood still, walked up and down, looked and looked again; at last she seated herself in one of the chairs, and it seemed, as she gazed up and down, as if she was, and yet was not – as if she felt and did not feel – as if all this would vanish from before her, and she would vanish from herself; and it was only when the sun left the window, on which

[11] Ch.H. SPIES, *Das Petermänchen. Geistergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhunderte*, part 1, Prague, 1791, p. 40.

[12] J.W. GOETHE, 'Von deutscher Baukunst', in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst. Einige fliegende Blätter*, Hamburg, 1773, p. 129.

[13] W. HEINSE, *Die Aufzeichnungen. Frankfurter Nachlass*, ed. by M. Bernauer et al., vol. 1: *Aufzeichnungen 1768–1783*, Munich and Vienna, 2003, p. 450.

[14] G. FORSTER, *Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich, im April, Mai und Junius 1790*, part 1, Berlin, 1791, pp. 70–75. For more on the sublimity experienced by Forster in Cologne cathedral see among others J. BISKY, *Poesie der Baukunst. Architekturästhetik von Wicklemann bis Boisserée*, Weimar, 2000, pp. 181–190.

[15] More on the significance of light in Goethe's novel: T. CRITZMANN, *Goethes Wahlverwandtschaften als Jahresmärchen. Ein Dialog zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik*, Cologne, 2006, pp. 239–258; T. SZYBISTY, '"Durch das einzige bunte Fenster fiel ein ernstes buntes Lichte herein". Zu einem Motiv in Goethes Roman "Die Wahlverwandtschaften"', *Estudios Filológicos Alemanes. Revista de investigación en Lingüística, Literatura y Cultura alemanas*, 26, 2013, pp. 93–103.

before it had been shining full, that she awoke to possession of herself, and hastened back to the castle.[16]

In the wake of that inspiring moment, one of the entries in Ottilie's diary takes the following form: 'The coloured window panes convert the day into a solemn twilight; and some one should set up for us an ever-burning lamp, that the night might not be utter darkness'.[17] Thanks to the dimmed colourful light pervading the chapel, the eye can consummate a synthesis of the disparate elements of Gothic architecture, and this is the only perceptual environment capable of imparting unified 'integrity' to otherwise discrete components. (An account of the same revelation can be found in Goethe's juvenile text about Strasburg cathedral.) The unique luminosity induces in the beneficiary of that mystical experience a sense of spiritual darkness, which, however, subsides when physical darkness sets in and the rays of the sun stop glittering through the panels of the stained glass. As the plot unfolds, it becomes clear that this darkness descending on the recipient of the experience portends and prefigures death, for one year after her vision Ottilie succumbs to anorexic self-annihilation and dies. Her mortal remains are deposed in the chapel, which represents the fulfilment of the premonition at the beginning of the novel: the chapel turns into a sarcophagus edifice. Therefore, in Goethe's world, a Gothic interior constitutes a buffering halfway station between temporality and the eternity of afterlife, and the key element responsible for its simultaneous heterotopic nature is none other than subdued, coloured light.

If we cross-reference *Elective Affinities* and the other previously cited eighteenth century works, two important, symptomatic changes can be isolated. The first change highlighted the part played by the subdued illumination as being conducive to a supra-rational insight into reality, whereas the second concerned the quality of that light *per se*. The latter development seems to have been grounded in the fact that the sheer atmospherics of the Gothic penumbra had first trumped any chromatic aspects, which is borne out by ample evidence, deriving from Goethe's juvenile text, from Herder's and Spieß's fixation on the uncanny atmospherics and their marginalization of colour, and last but not least, from Heinse's and Forster's accounts.

Although the colourful light pervading the chapel described by Goethe could be interpreted in direct conjunction with his theory of colour, whose studious elaboration coincided with the writing of *Elective Affinities*,[18] the vivid ly mystical component of Ottilie's vision seems to suggest that the author included here an ironic allusion to the Romantic understanding of darkness and colours, which went a long way towards a new interpretation of Gothic architecture.

Indeed, by calling into question the presumption of the omnipotence of rational knowledge, symbolized by light, Romanticism jumpstarted profound paradigm shifts in the realm of symbology. Thus, shade, 'a different incarnation of light' signifying knowledge that is supra-rational, intuitive and revealed, was elevated to the status of being positively contrapuntal to light. Nothing could have better crystallized this new kind of mentality than Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht* (1800), where it was darkness that was portrayed as the source of gnostic illumination. Less than two decades had passed when Eberhard von Grote couched this sentiment even more explicitly, coining the notion of the 'tranquil nightliness'[19] of mystical, Gothic cathedrals. Yet, almost in the same breath, he acknowledged that it would be a real challenge for his contemporaries, brought up in and conditioned by the Enlightenment's fetish-like reverence for the light of reason, to accommodate their senses to such cathedrals' dark interiors and understand medieval architecture as such. The twilit premises of Gothic churches also commanded the interest of Hegel, who believed that they were a perfect externalization of the Christian spirit, seeking internal peace, and detachment from materiality, thereby facilitating sublimation of temporality.[20]

However, the romantic pivot to darkness, taking place at the turn of the nineteenth century, was not so much bent on subverting the metaphoric significance of light as championed by Enlightenment; instead, it strove to creatively 'juxtapose opposites in order to attain all the more profound understanding'.[21] To once again invoke the example of Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*, the night, eponymously used in the title, is not construed as ultimate darkness and an affirmation of death, but as a conjunction of darkness and light, approximating a moment of liberation obliterating the 'dichotomy of night and day, being me and not-me at once'.[22]

[16] J.W. Goethe, *Elective Affinities*, Boston, 1872, p. 170.

[17] Ibidem, p. 172.

[18] T. Critzmann, *Goethes Wahlverwandtschaften als Jahresmärchen*, pp. 239–244 (as in note 15); see also C. Brodsky, 'The Coloring of Relations: *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* as *Farbenlehre*', *Modern Language Notes*, 97, 1982, no. 5, pp. 1147–1179; M. Fancelli, '"Die Farbenlehre" und "Die Wahlverwandtschaften"', in *Goethe und die Natur. Referate des Triestiner Kongresses*, ed. by H.A. Glaser, Frankfurt am Main, Bern and New York, 1986, pp. 177–186.

[19] E. von Grote, 'Vorwort. Bilder der Zeiten', in *Taschenbuch für Freunde altdeutscher Zeit und Kunst auf das Jahr 1816*, Cologne, 1816, p. XI.

[20] G.W.F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*, ed. by D.H.G. Hotho, vol. 2, Berlin, 1837, p. 335; cf. W. Bałus, '"La cathédrale" of Joris-Karl Huysmans and the Symbolical Interpretation of the Gothic Cathedral in the 19th Century', *Artibus et Historiae*, 57, 2008, p. 168.

[21] A.K. Haas, 'Światłości pełne światła. Niemiecka literatura i malarstwo przełomu osiemnastego i dziewiętnastego wieku wobec problemu (samo)poznania', *Ethos*, 30, 2017, no. 3 (119), p. 191.

[22] G. von Molnár, 'Novalis' "blaue Blume" im Blickfeld von Goethes Optik', in *Novalis. Beiträge zu Werk und Persönlichkeit Friedrich von Hardenbergs*, ed. by G. Schulz, Darmstadt, 1986 (Wege der Forschung, 248), p. 443.

Géza von Molnár, who believes that it is generally in Novalis's character to perceive reality in terms of 'polarization and fundamental unity',[23] notes that the peculiar dialectic of day and night that is present in his writings is largely beholden to Goethe's theory of colours, an early version of which was published between 1791 and 1792 in the form of the treatise entitled *Beiträge zur Optik*; later, soon after the release of *Elective Affinities*, the content of the former work was incorporated in *Farbenlehre*, a compendious publication released in 1810 and comprising the results of his many years of research. In opposition to Newton, Goethe claimed that colours were a product of the interpenetration of light and darkness. That conception inevitably led to the designation of any chromatic manifestations (along with other phenomena, such as penumbra, indwelling the borderline between light and darkness) as a symbolic representation of the union between varied dimensions of being as well as knowledge.

In the chromatic system elaborated by Philipp Otto Runge, who was well versed in Goethe's beliefs, which can also be borne out by the fact of an encounter and exchange of letters between these two individuals,[24] colour was by no means reducible to a physical phenomenon only, as it also intermediated between the realms of matter and spirit. This conception, it was widely held after a 1909 publication by Siegfried Krebs,[25] in part was a legacy of Jakob Böhme's mystical writings, which evidently were read by Runge as early as 1802.[26] And it would be a serious understatement to claim that the reception of Böhme's output was limited only to Runge; instead, it would be fully justified to speak of the explosion of a fully-fledged romantic 'renaissance of Böhme'.[27]

For Runge, colours interspersed in the liminal area between light (good) and darkness (evil) represent a path to the Absolute. They have been given to man, as otherwise he would not be capable of comprehending pure,

supernatural light.[28] Similar assertions were made by Johann Wilhelm Ritter, the most illustrious representative of Romanticism's natural scientists; he maintained that colours were the product of the refraction of the rays emanated by the soul of the universe.[29] This short study must also make a mention of Ludwig Tieck, for whom colours encapsulated the language of 'the spirit of the world', and this spirit was both revealed and hidden by them.[30]

Studies investigating phenomena associated with light, gathering momentum at the turn of the nineteenth century and spawning the elaboration of mystical and religious interpretations of colour, were undoubtedly a significant backdrop for the perception of gothic interiors. As stained-glass window panels emanated colourful beams, the ambient light of the interiors prompted the reflection that such premises constituted anterooms ushering observers in to a spiritual reality, and both metaphysical and eternal, too.

Such ideas were perfectly in sync with the plan, albeit abortive, for a construction undertaking designed by Karl Friedrich Schinkel in 1810. It would have been a mausoleum of Queen Louise of Prussia. Its blueprint displayed some affinities with the chapel envisioned a year before by Goethe in his *Elective Affinities*.[31] In the outline of the vision for the structure, the architect did not associate the Gothic with darkness but with subdued colourful light. He himself affirmed that his chief desire was to highlight the 'cheerful face of death' (*heitere Ansicht des Todes*), embraced as a passage to a more beautiful, eternal life.[32] Therefore, it stands to reason that in his design the mausoleum was to be an invocation of the image of such a transition, where the shaded anteroom was to lead to an interior steeped in 'the bright red light of the morning'.

Likewise, in many literary works dating from the early decades of the nineteenth century, the colourful lighting and twilight prevailing in Gothic churches were perceived as an intermediary between the material and spiritual realms. In the first of his cycle of sonnets (released in 1824, two years after their author's religious ordination[33]) dedi-

[23] Ibidem, p. 426.

[24] H. Matile, *Die Farbenlehre Philipp Otto Runges. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Künstlerfarbenlehre*, Munich and Mittenwald, 1979 (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studientexte, 5), pp. 139–141.

[25] S. Krebs, *Philipp Otto Runges Entwicklung unter dem Einflusse Ludwig Tiecks*, Heidelberg, 1909, passim; cf. K. Möseneder, *Philipp Otto Runge und Jakob Böhme. Über Runges "Quelle und Dichter" und den "Kleinen Morgen". Mit einem Exkurs über ein Palmenemblem*, Marburg/Lahn 1981 (Marburger Ostforschungen, 38), passim.

[26] H. Matile, *Die Farbenlehre Philipp Otto Runges*, p. 130 (as in note 24).

[27] J. Sánchez de Murillo, *Der Geist der deutschen Romantik. Der Übergang vom logischen zum dichterischen Denken und der Hervorgang der Tiefenphänomenologie*, Munich, 1986, p. 191. We should not overlook the fact that the Romantic understanding of light and colour was influenced by other mystics, for example Swedenborg and Oettinger; see among others L. Miodoński, *Całość jako paradygmat rozumienia świata w myśli niemieckiej przełomu romantycznego*, Wrocław, 2001, pp. 210–234.

[28] See among others Philipp Otto Runge's letter to his brother Daniel, Nov. 7th 1802, in *Hinterlassene Schriften von Philipp Otto Runge, Mahler*, ed. by dessen ältestem Bruder, part 1, Hamburg, 1840, p. 17; cf. H. Matile, *Die Farbenlehre Philipp Otto Runges*, p. 130 (as in note 24).

[29] J.W. Ritter, *Fragmente aus dem Nachlaße eines junges Physikers. Ein Taschenbuch für Freunde der Natur*, Heidelberg, 1810, p. 166.

[30] L. Tieck, *Phantasien über die Kunst, für Freunde der Kunst*, Hamburg, 1799, pp. 122–123.

[31] T. Critzmann, *Goethes Wahlverwandtschaften als Jahresmärchen*, pp. 161–168 (as in note 15).

[32] K.F. Schinkel, 'Entwurf zu einer Begräbnißkapelle für Ihre Majestät die Hochselige Königin Luise von Preußen', in *Aus Schinkel's Nachlaß. Reisetagebücher, Briefe und Aphorismen*, mitgetheilt und mit einem Verzeichniß sämmtlicher Werke Schinkel's versehen von A. Freiherrn von Wolzogen, vol. 3, Berlin, 1863, p. 160.

[33] A. Portmann-Tinguely: 'Smets, Wilhelm', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 10, Hamm, 1995, cols 655–666.

cated to extolling the virtues of Cologne cathedral, Wilhelm Smets dwells on the colourful radiance pervading its interior. The poet compares it to 'the blue of the purest ether', which may represent an allusion to the romantic interpretation of this colour. In addition, in the same sonnet, we read about 'the wonderful light' and an image which is reminiscent of 'a pink-and-golden wave of a veil', woven by the morning dew.[34] Indeed, it is by virtue of such gleaming, shiny colours that the interior is perceived by Smets as a space that is religious *per se*. Still, the sonnet that follows focuses on the shadows enveloping the inside of the cathedral. And yet the juxtaposition of that darkness of the interior of the cathedral with the complete impenetrability of the night and the brightness of the day, together alternating outside and incessantly splitting the lyrical subject, warrants the hypothesis that for Smets the interior of the cathedral is filled with twilight rather than complete darkness. The shaded premises of the church are a space to which the external world is given no access, completely exempt from the mutability of the times of day, nor is there any room for quotidian afflictions besetting the soul. Such distractions have to yield to pious contemplation, which guides believers to 'the column of eternal light' and transmutes the interior of the cathedral into the garden of paradise.[35]

Even though the space of a Gothic church, steeped in a multi-coloured glow, was habitually perceived as the anteroom leading to a metaphysical reality, it was also plausible to put other constructions on that reality. For example, in Goethe's poem entitled *Gedichte sind gemalte Fensterscheiben*, published in 1827, the church, saturated with radiance pouring through the colourful glass, becomes an environment lending itself to aesthetic illumination, a shrine impenetrable to philistines' eyes because from the outsider vantage point nothing but darkness can be spotted inside.

> Poems are stained-glass windows which, when seen
> By looking in from the great square outside,
> Through gloom and dark reveal of light no sign.
> That is the vision of the philistine
> Who may in lifelong sullenness abide
> Because of it, morose of mind and mien.
>
> But come inside, and from within survey
> The sacred house with reverent, joyful cheer.
> The colours now at once shine bright and clear,
> And history and ornament appear,
> Significant and noble their display.
> Children of God, that is a goodly sight;
> Be edified, and give your eyes delight![36]

Of course, when it came to the factors underlying the shift in the perception of the significance of the unique quality of light filling Gothic churches, in addition to such contributing factors as the new understanding of darkness and the novel metaphysical interpretation of colours, we ought to acknowledge also a transformative process whereby the Middle Ages came to be credited with a peculiar brand of devout religiosity, lofty feelings, and social harmony, and were also perceived as a period in which the German national character was in its heyday. This is the accolade given to the Middle Ages by Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck in their seminal, groundbreaking publication entitled *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, released in 1797. The thrust of their arguments boils down to the statement that the development of German art in that period reached its peak in Dürer's time.

The intermeshing of the national and religious spheres, so conspicuous in Wackenroder and Tieck's text, gained reinforced traction especially during the period of the Napoleonic wars. Tailored to the propaganda demands of the day, the necessarily disparaging and oversimplified stereotype of the French (who were associated with Latinized culture and perceived as beholden to the Romano-Hellenic heritage) led to the consolidation of the German people and rallied them around nationalist and Germanic battle cries. As claimed by Jost Hermand, the inventory of patriotic propaganda symbols drew upon the imagery of the Middle Ages and the Gothic, notions of Germanic identity, the culture of the North and the legend of Ossian.[37] All of this provided nutritious fodder for nurturing a shared identity. The subdued ambient light of Gothic shrines, which was, incidentally, highly emblematic of the atmosphere of Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (which captured the imagination and favourably refashioned people's vision of the non-classical, northern counterpart of the dim and distant 'ancient past'), was obviously harnessed as part of the politicized imagery. That symbol appropriation was all the easier because the metaphoric significance of such dim light could be easily linked to the allegedly Germanic roots of the Gothic style, typified by lancet-like curves.

In 1816, when the fervour of the resurgent patriotic campaign directed against Napoleon was still far from being over, Friedrich Wilhelm Carové characterized Gothic cathedrals as 'idealized, art-enhanced forest shrines of old-time Germanic peoples'.[38] Elsewhere in his study on medieval art, he observes that Germanic peoples, intu-

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[34] W. Smets, *Eintritt*, in idem, *Gedichte*, Aachen, 1824, p. 18.

[35] W. Smets, *Weihe*, in idem, *Gedichte*, p. 19 (as in note 34).

[36] Translation sourced from E.G. Stanley, 'The Early Middle Ages = The Dark Ages = The Heroic Age of England in English', in *The*

Middle Ages after the Middle Ages in the English-speaking World, ed. by M.-F. Alamichel, D. Brewer, Cambridge, 1997, p. 67.

[37] J. Hermand, 'Die gescheiterte Hoffnung. Zur Malerei der Befreiungskriege', in idem, *Avantgarde und Regression. 200 Jahre Deutsche Kunst*, Leipzig, 1995, p. 14.

[38] F.W. Carové, 'Ansichten der Kunst des deutschen Mittelalters', in *Taschenbuch für Freunde altdeutscher Zeit und Kunst auf das Jahr 1816*, p. 73 (as in note 19).

iting the infinity and inconceivability of the numinous realm, had worshipped it in its awe-inspiring, mysterious darkness of the tall, thickly foliaged forest'.[39] Hence, in light of the above, the multicolour penumbra of a Gothic interior could plausibly be viewed as an aggrandized, artistically recaptured replica of the darkness shadowing the Germanic sanctuary. Indeed, allusions to this peculiar perception of light in a Gothic church are to be found even in the previously discussed poems by Smets. Even though there is no gainsaying that the pride of place in these poems is granted to religious and metaphysical matters, we cannot help but acknowledge that Cologne cathedral is compared there to a wood, enshrouded by shade; it obviously stands to reason that this analogy in that day and age would have evoked associations with the hypothetically 'sylvan' and Germanic origins of the Gothic style.

The varicoloured ambient illumination lingering in Gothic churches would have been associated with the German or Germanic spirit, but it could very well have resonated on a different, broader anthropological plane. Carové believed that what distinguished the German psyche was an appetite for mystery, metaphysics, and matters of the spirit, whereas the populations inhabiting southern Europe were allegedly steeped in, and therefore embraced, temporality, and their art never broke from the shackles of the mundane.[40] And he was not alone in believing so. A couple of years later, when a Swiss writer named Charles Victor de Bonstetten, following in the footsteps of Montesquieu, Rousseau and Herder, embarked on the unravelling of the mystery of the relationship between various European nations' mindsets and sensibilities and the climates they were exposed to, he arrived at the conclusion that the lush and luxuriant nature of the south of Europe seemed to predispose people there to interaction with the outer world, privileging sensuous exploration of the surrounding reality. Conversely, the austere circumstances of life in the north of Europe, which forced people into isolation and to seek shelter from the hazardous and cold natural environment, shed some light on 'the somewhat dreamy penchant for metaphysics, mystical sects and speculative endeavours'.[41] In addition, this bipolar anthropological system gave rise to Carové's determination of aesthetic questions. For example, he asserted that it was through sculpture that artists could reveal 'corporal beauty, earthliness and pagan gods', but when it came to the conveyance of truth, he prioritized colour, as it was possessed of the potential to 'to render a human visage', especially the eye expression, as that feature vividly expresses

the spirit and love, the essence of our faith'.[42] Therefore, from this vantage point, colour would also have been the medium conveying spirituality, which, *per se*, was to emblematize German art in particular.

To get a better conception of the ramifications of the posited anthropological and cultural polarity of the North and the South, and how instrumental it could have been in searching for the very genesis of the parti-coloured twilight inside a Gothic cathedral, we may turn to Theodor Schwarz's *Erwin von Steinbach*, which was published in 1834. Its eponymous main character ventures up to Scandinavia to search for an inspiration for a cathedral he is going to erect in Strasburg, his home town. While up in the north, he decides to make a foray to the North Pole, which sojourn turns out to be a watershed, where he attains maturity both as an architect and a Christian believer.

Already in one of the opening chapters of the book classical architecture is contrastively juxtaposed with that of Gothic. As it stands bathed in the sunshine, the former's mission is to proclaim the affirmation of earthly life; on the contrary, the function of Gothic, deriving from the North, encompasses the dramatization of death, defined here as the eternity-bound destination of our terrestrial pilgrimage.[43] Obviously, the presence of the stained glass is instrumental in achieving that goal. Thanks to the colourful hues, the Gothic church transfigures into 'a holy place of isolation from the world'.[44] Other than that, in the novel there is another category of location that is invested with the same merit of seclusion, and this applies to the distant arctic regions. Likewise, in the case of these places, their peculiarity is underpinned by the unique light illuminating them.

> The northern lights, emanating from the dark bosom of the sky, were sparkling and beaming before their eyes. The mysterious flashes and flares were shooting up, apparently reaching the very keystone of the vault of the sky, so much so that the lights of the stars seemed to be flickering but wanly and dimly, being surrounded by streaks of reddish light igniting and flaring up from

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[39] Ibidem, p. 71.

[40] Ibidem, p. 74.

[41] K.W. von Bonstetten, *Der Mensch im Süden und im Norden oder über den Einfluß des Clima's*, transl. by F. Gleich, Leipzig, 1825, p. 53.

[42] F.W. Carové, 'Ansichten der Kunst des deutschen Mittelalters', p. 80 (as in note 38).

[43] T. Schwarz, *Erwin von Steinbach*, Hamburg, 1834, vol. 1, pp. 131–132; cf. N. Hinrichs, *Caspar David Friedrich – ein deutscher Künstler des Nordens. Analyse der Friedrich-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert und im Nationalsozialismus*, Kiel, 2011, pp. 148–163; T. Szybisty, 'Północ jako przestrzeń inspiracji. Literacka wizja genezy katedry strasburskiej w powieści Theodora Schwarza "Erwin von Steinbach"', in *Obrazy świata, przestrzenie dzieła. Literatura – sztuki plastyczne*, ed. by S. Jasionowicz, Cracow, 2016 (Imaginarium, 1), pp. 103–115; T. Szybisty, 'Katedra jak kryształ. Przyczynek do badań nad romantyczną topiką świątyni gotyckiej', in *Literatura a architektura*, ed. by J. Godlewicz-Adamiec, T. Szybisty, Cracow and Warsaw, 2017 (Literatura–Konteksty, 1), pp. 227–230.

[44] T. Schwarz, *Erwin von Steinbach*, vol. 1, pp. 131–132 (as in note 43).

a sphere of milky luminescence. Our companion felt as if he were gazing at the mystical sun of the pole, an oneiric counterpart of the real celestial body, and for the time being, the duties of the latter being fulfilled by the former'.[45]

The image itself of 'reaching the very keystone of the vault of the sky' in the quotation above puts us in mind of a Gothic cathedral, while the light of the aurora borealis is associated with the colourful glow of stained glass. It looks as if Goethe's juvenile text's contrast between the South, with its emanation in the shape of classical architecture, and the North, manifesting itself in the Gothic sensibility, found its most extreme embodiment in the ideas presented in Schwarz's book. And the new scale of contrast was so monumental that it necessitated the improvisation of 'the mystical sun' as a counterpoint to 'the temporal sun'. Within this framework of reference, stained-glass is once again presented as a mimetic genre of art; nevertheless, this time the colourful panes do not pretend to imitate the luminous effects of beams of light shooting through the vaulted canopies of forest trees, but aspire to symbolize the mystical light of the North.

As outlined in this paper, there were several factors leading to the landmark developments recorded in turn-of-the-nineteenth-century German literature and relating to the novel perspective on the meaning of the ambient light inside Gothic churches. Such transformations mirrored a society-wide process of the re-evaluation of the significance of the Middle Ages, especially Gothic architecture, which came to be viewed as the distillation of the German or Germanic soul. Additionally, we should also single out the fresh reinterpretation of shade, which was prompted by the desire to improvise a symbolic counterpoint to light, which had previously come to symbolize Enlightenment. Not a whit less transformative was the romantic reimagining of light as a conduit for supra-rational understanding. The new ideas modified the perception of the interiors of Gothic churches flooded with subdued, multicolour light, which predestined such premises for the role of intermediary buffers between the world of matter and the realm of spirit. Moreover, they jump-started a surge of interest in stained glass, which encouraged efforts to revive the stained-glass tradition, occasionally spawning fantastical interpretations of this genre of art.

Translated by Mariusz Szerocki

SUMMARY

Tomasz Szybisty
BETWEEN LIGHT AND SHADOWS; REFLECTING ON VARIED CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PECULIAR LAMBENCY SUFFUSING GOTHIC CHURCHES AS EVIDENCED BY GERMAN LITERATURE FROM THE LATTER DECADES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Keywords: Gothic architecture, light, shadow, German literature, 18th/19th century, stained glass

What seems to emanate from the dominant tenor permeating the scholarship dedicated to exploring the early nineteenth century resurgence of stained-glass ornamentation is the significant function ascribed to the variegated 'mystical' twilight, which played a pivotal role in the expansion of the renewed interest in this form of art. Nevertheless, no comprehensive studies have been attempted to investigate this subject matter. Drawing on selected German-language texts from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, this article undertakes to examine the transformative developments regarding perception of ambient light prevailing in Gothic churches. There is enough evidence to ascertain that before 1800 such buildings had been habitually associated with significantly bedimmed interiors; however, in the decades that followed, this perception underwent some modification and the light was not only just subdued, but it was suffused with colourful lambency. For one, the change was the result of the re-evaluation of the image of the Middle Ages, and of the Gothic style, in particular, as it was regarded as the manifestation of the German or Germanic character; for another, the transformation was effected, to a large extent by Romanticism's pronouncements on the meaning of colour and shade. In addition, research into this phenomenon should not neglect to acknowledge the part played by studies on light phenomena, which were conducted extensively at that time, among others by Goethe. All those issues conditioned the perception of the interiors of Gothic churches flooded with subdued, multicolour light, which predestined such premises for the role of intermediary buffers between the world of matter and the realm of spirit. Moreover, the aforementioned developments jump-started a surge of interest in stained glass, and encouraged increasingly enthusiastic efforts to revive the stained-glass tradition, occasionally spawning fantastical interpretations pertaining this genre of art.

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[45] Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 401.

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OLD IMAGERY FOR A NEW CENTURY

Nineteenth-century stained glass painters were a part of their times, times that saw a modern world capable of reclaiming the value of the past, but surpassing it through modern technology. These glass painters admired medieval art for its decorative brilliance, but for the image itself, the art of Europe from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries provided the most appropriate themes and figural models. Their reliance on the art of this era reflected the bias already evident in their patrons. The foundation of the great nineteenth-century public collections was the art of the Renaissance from the Lowlands, Germany, and Italy. Ludwig of Bavaria purchased the Boisserée brothers' collection of German and Lowlands paintings in 1826 as the core of what is now the Alte Pinakotek in Munich.

Before the photographic reproduction of works of art, the means of disseminating these models profoundly influenced their reception. The glass painters and their patrons may have seen works such as Rogier van der Weyden's *Three Kings* (or *St. Columba*) *Altarpiece* in Munich, but accessible images to jog the memory were prints made after these subjects [Fig. 1]. Engravings and lithographs, such as the series of prints that reproduced the Boisserée brothers' collection and which was published in 1822, were often the only visual references for a patron.[1] The purpose of such printing was didactic, even edifying, helping to transfer the cherished values of the past into the present. The Düsseldorf Society for the diffusion of 'good religious pictures' was typical in its systematic reproduction of a wide variety of prints based on paintings.[2]

St. Chad's Church in Shrewsbury, England typifies the process of renewal and adaptation. St. Chad's origins date to the thirteenth century but after the collapse of

its tower in 1788, the church was rebuilt in the Georgian style. A white interior, ceiling and cornice moldings with naturalistic foliage, and Corinthian columns terminating in capitals painted in gold, were in fashion in this era that remained deeply attached to the classicism of Christopher Wren (1632–1723). Originally glazed with simple clear quarry glass, the church received several leaded and painted windows executed in the 1840s by David Evans, a local glass painter. A three-part window over the altar [Fig. 2] reproduces Rubens' great triptych in the cathedral of Antwerp showing the *Descent from the Cross* flanked by the *Visitation* and *Presentation*. Innumerable book illustrations and inexpensive chromolithography testify to the popularity of the triptych [Fig. 3]. Rubens' painting was also used as the model for a window of the *Descent from the Cross* from the series installed by the Munich studio of Franz Mayer in 1901 for the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Portland, Maine [Fig. 4]. Mayer was responsible for the entire program.

Nineteenth-century artists inspired by the Renaissance and Baroque could also become universally recognized across denominations and media. In the United States, from about 1850 to 1897, Henry E. Sharp was the studio of choice for architects such as the eminent Richard Upjohn.[3] Many of his commissions incorporated images of the Apostles based on the work of Friedrich Overbeck, spokesperson for the Nazarene movement of Catholic art in Bavaria. Created between 1842 and 1853 for a fresco cycle for the chapel of the Villa Torlonia in Castel Gandolfo, Overbeck's Apostles were reproduced in prints by Franz Keller. The images were widely distributed, particularly through the Dusseldorf Union for the Promotion of Good Religious Pictures.[4] Sharp used the models in a number of

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[1] *Boisserée Sammlung*: exh. cat., Clemen-Sels-Museum, Neuss, 1980. *Die Alt-, Nieder- und Ober-Deutscher Gemälde der Brüder Sulpiz und Melchior Boisserée und Johann Bertram lithographiert von Johann Nepomuk Strixner*, Stuttgart, 1821.

[2] *Düsseldorf Society for the Propagation of Good Religious Pictures*, London, 1873.

[3] Sharp advertised in the New York City Directory in 1851 under the name Sharp and Steele, later as H.E. Sharp & Son, and H.E. Sharp, Son, & Colgate.

[4] See *Religiöse Graphik aus der Zeit des Kölner Dombaus 1842–1880*, exh. cat., Cologne, Diözesanmuseum, ed. by W. Schulten,

1. Johann Nepomuk Strixner, *Presentation in the Temple*, 1822, lithograph, after Rogier van der Weyden, left wing of the *Columba Altarpiece*, 1455, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: courtesy British Museum Collection online, Galerie des Frères Boisserée, no.1860.0114.161

2. David Evans, *Visitation, Descent from the Cross, Presentation in Temple*, 1840's, Shrewsbury, England, St. Chad's Church of England, Photo: M.M. Raguin

College Oxford, the painting shows Christ holding a lantern and knocking at a darkened door.[5] Used as the frontispiece in Henry Turner Bailey's *The Great Painters' Gospel*, it became a perennial favorite in stained glass. One of the first examples may be a window placed in January 1876 in St. Luke's Church (now St. Luke and the Epiphany, Episcopal), Philadelphia. The subject was featured on

geographically dispersed churches: Church of the Good Shepherd, Hartford, and the Episcopal church, Wallingford [Figs 5, 6], both in Connecticut; Trinity Cathedral, Episcopal, Pittsburgh, 1869–1872; St. Matthew's German Lutheran Church, Charleston, South Carolina; and the First Universalist church in Providence, Rhode Island.

A Protestant nation, the United States was particularly attracted to allegorical imagery, such as William Holman Hunt's *The Light of the World* [Fig. 7]. Now in Keble

Cologne, 1980, esp. pp. 12–15, cat. nos. 60 and 61, and *Religiöse Graphik der Düsseldorfer Nazarener*, exh. cat. Düsseldorfer Stadtwerke, ed. by L. Gierse, Düsseldorf, 1982, cat. nos. 36–55.

[5] C. Wood, *The Pre-Raphaelites*, New York, 1981, color ill. p. 43. *The Light of the World* was completed in 1853 and exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1854. This early version was sold to Thomas Combe of Oxford, whose wife later gave it to Keble College. Later Hunt painted the larger version in St. Paul's. See also W.H. Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 2 vols, New York and London, 1905, illustrated with engravings by the Swan Electric Engraving Company. The engraving of *The Light of the World*, opp. p. 368, vol. 1, demonstrates not only the image's importance, but the continued intervention of the mechanical reproductive process in the dissemination of influence. The image was the frontispiece for H.T. Bailey, *The Great Painters' Gospel, Pictures Representing Scenes and Incidents in the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ with Scriptural Quotations, References and Suggestions for Comparative Study*, Boston, 1900.

3. *Descent from the Cross*, c. 1890, lithograph in original frame, after Rubens, probably German, Private Collection. Photo: M.M. Raguin

4. Franz Mayer Studio, *Descent from the Cross*, Munich, 1901, Portland (Maine), Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Photo: M.M. Raguin

the opening page of the 1876 catalogue of Cox & Sons, London, 'By permission of Messers Pilgrim & Lefèuvre, publishers of the engraving of Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* Messrs Cox & Sons are enabled to supply this subject in stained glass'.[6] The site-list in the catalogue further described the window as a 'Large highly finished Stained Glass Renaissance W.[indow] after Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* with figure life size'.[7] The Gorham Company of New York advertised a *Light of the World* fashioned by Edward Peck Sperry in 1904.[8] Sperry was a highly respected artist who had designed windows in the church of the Covenant, Boston, the *Bernard and Godfrey* window for Harvard University's Memorial Hall, and the *Ivanhoe* window at the University of Chicago.[9]

To understand the climate in the nineteenth century concerning art, religion, and replication for the public, we may turn to the beginnings of our public institutions of art.[10] The great halls of the Metropolitan Museum were once filled with plaster casts.[11] These goals of making the past relevant to the present were widely shared. Stanford University's Museum of Art was founded in 1894, three years after the University itself.[12] The museum rivaled in

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[6] *Cox & Sons. Illustrated Catalogue of Designs for Stained Glass Windows for Churches and Domestic Use*, London, 1876, p. 1.

[7] Ibidem p. 6.

[8] S. Hough, 'Notes from the Archives: Gorham's Stained Glass', *Silver: The Magazine for Collectors*, March–April, 1989, pp. 18–21. Hough quotes extensively from the 1904 catalogue, *The Gorham Company, Makers of Memorials, New York*, mentioning Edward Peck Sperry as designer-in-chief of the Ecclesiastical Department. An image of Christ with the lantern, without the door, is labeled 'Dingee Memorial, signed E.P. Sperry '04' (p. 19).

[9] Frank Dickinson Bartlett window, University of Chicago, Bartlett Memorial Gymnasium, 1904: E.R. and F. Frue, *Chicago's Stained Glass*, Chicago, 1983, pp. 106–109. In 2001 the Gymnasium was

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converted to a dining hall and the window dismantled and put into storage. A. Duncan, *Tiffany Windows*, New York, 1980, color pl. 22.

[10] See collection of essays *Das kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Museum im 19 Jahrhundert*, ed. by B. Deneke, R. Kahsnitz, Munich, 1977 (Studien zur Kunst des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 39), and C. Duncan, A. Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum', *Art History*, 34, 1980, pp. 448–469.

[11] By 1889 the museum had only three curators, one designated for casts and reproductions. The following year a special committee was appointed to enlarge the museum's cast collection. C. Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1970, pp. 71, 79.

[12] The full legal title of the university is The Leland Stanford Junior University. C.M. Osborne, *Museum Builders in the West.*

5. Henry Sharp Studio, *Apostles John, Peter, Paul and James the Less*, 1868, Wallingford (Connecticut), St. Paul's Episcopal Church, chancel window. Photo: V. Raguin

size the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, both founded more than two decades earlier. Like other collectors of the time, the founders purchased copies of great masterworks. Jane Stanford had viewed Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* while visiting Dresden with her son Leland and in 1890 had it copied for the Stanford Museum and for the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Sacramento.[13] She was not alone. Copies abounded, in stained glass as well as canvas, from modest Currier and Ives prints to lavish examples by the Tiffany Studios.[14] Jane Stanford had previously acquired a copy of Raphael's *Madonna of the Chair* which was photographed by Eadweard Muybridge in the Stanfords' San Francisco

house in 1878.[15] In 1905, the museum's lobby displayed copies of Renaissance and classical sculpture such as the head of Michelangelo's *David*, the head of the *Apollo Belvedere*, and numerous Greek models.

Museums have changed, but in many ways the churches built by the patrons of this era remain time capsules preserving contemporary ideas concerning art, public service, and morality. Jane Stanford dedicated a University Chapel as a memorial to her husband. Following their joint theology, she constructed the church as a non-denominational homage to the moral principles of religion.[16] 'We wish the simple religion of Jesus Christ and His beautiful life held up as an example worthy for all to imitate'.[17] Christianity, as seen by the Stanfords, was based on the human endeavors of the person of Christ, and therefore was not exclusionary. The style and decoration of the

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The Stanfords as Collectors and Patrons of Art 1870–1906, Stanford, 1986. For an early eyewitness report on Jane Stanford and the early years of the university, by its president, see D.S. JORDAN, 'Jane Lathrop Stanford', *Popular Science Monthly*, August, 1909, pp. 157–173.

[13] Feb. 13, 1889, Letter to George Pendelton, Envoy of the United States, from Hohenthal, Secretary to the King of Saxony, giving permission for the replica, and recommending Karl Bertling, a painter in Dresden. Archives Stanford University.

[14] Trinity Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, Connecticut. Illustrated, *The Hartford Courant*, June 26, 1983, B4; A. DUNCAN, *Tiffany Windows*, p. 208 (as in note 9).

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[15] See C.M. OSBORNE, *Museum Builders*, p. 29, fig. 32, and pp. 37–44 (as in note 12).

[16] G. STOCKHOLM, *Stanford Memorial Church: An Appreciative Guide for the Not-so-casual Viewer*, Stanford, 1980. Leland senior died in 1893; Jane Stanford was able to begin construction of the church in 1899. A good portion of the faculty, however, went on record suggesting that the center of the campus might be more fittingly used to house the University's library.

[17] Letter to S. Goodenough, Secretary, California Universalist Convention, 15 March, 1896, Stanford University Archives.
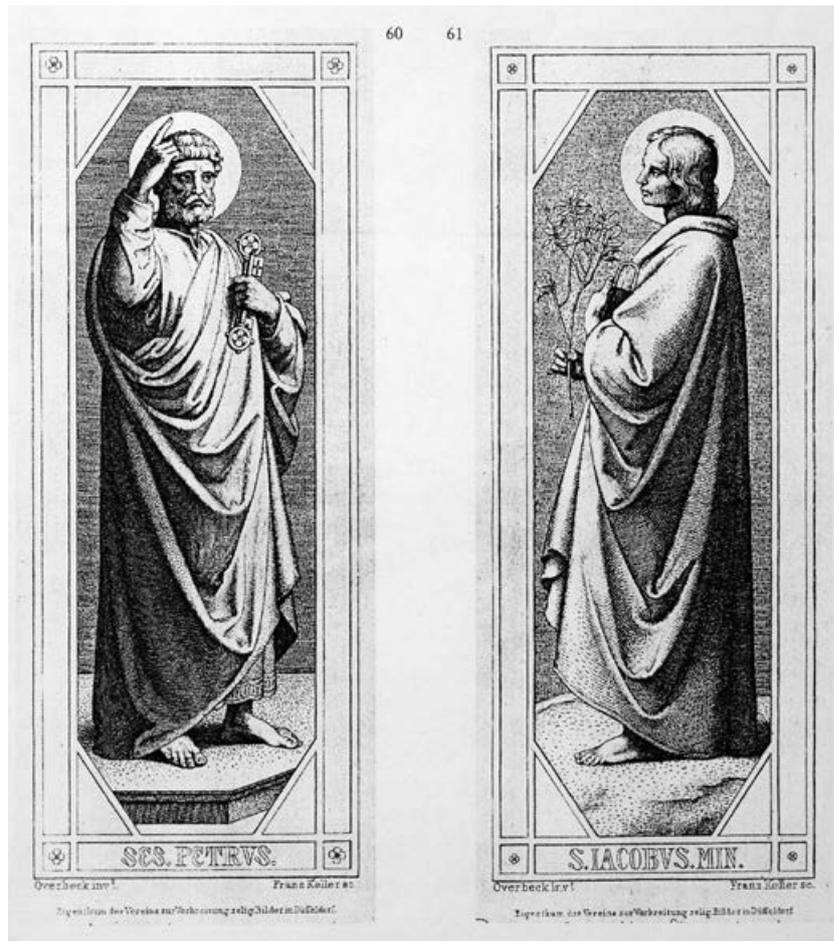
6. Friedrich Overbeck, *Apostles Peter and James the Less*, 1842–1853, prints by Franz Keller, distributed through the Dusseldorf Union for the Promotion of Good Religious Pictures. Photo after: *Religiöse Graphik aus der Zeit des Kölner Dombaus 1842–1880*, exh. cat., Diocesan Museum, Cologne, 1980

building were profoundly eclectic, designed by Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, the successor firm of H.H. Richardson. A typological relationship resonates between the interior mosaics, most generally of Old Testament themes, and the major windows, which present scenes from the Life of Christ. Both the mosaicist, Maurizio Camerino of the Antonio Salvati studios, Venice, Italy, and Frederick Stymetz Lamb, director of the J. & R. Lamb Studio, New York, worked closely with Jane Stanford.[18] All of the major windows replicate paintings by artists such as Ernst Deger, Anton Dietrich, Gustave Doré, Heinrich Hofmann, William Holman Hunt, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, and Bernard Plockhorst that had become standard 'icons' of Christian instruction.[19] The glass program also reflects the

taste for reproductions of Renaissance paintings by Italian mosaicists at this time.[20]

Reliance on these themes and imagery continued well into the twentieth century, even by the studios of the Second Gothic Revival, such as the Charles J. Connick Studio of Boston. Over 1,000 separate items in the studio's library, often multiple volume works, such as encyclopedias and journal subscriptions, contained an abundance of great master reproductions.[21] The major publications

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[18] For a cursory historical note on the studio see C. Kendall, '"102 Years Young", A Modicum of History from the J. & R. Lamb Studios', *Stained Glass*, 54/2, 1959, pp. 19–26.

[19] See also the images after Hofmann and Plockhorst in the catalogue *Suggestions in Religious Art from the Studio of Ford Bro. Glass Company*, Kansas City, Minneapolis and Chicago (n.d.). H. Weis, 'Those Old, Familiar Faces', *Stained Glass*, 86/3 1991, pp 204–207, 216–218, demonstrating the wide use of nineteenth-century and

Renaissance sources for opalescent, traditional European, and Second Gothic Revival styles. These references also permeated early film, for example D.W. Griffith's monumental *Intolerance,* produced in 1916. Griffith cites the authority of J.J. Tissot's *The Life of Our Savior Jesus Christ*, New York, 1899–1900.

[20] A. Gonzalez-Palacios, S. Röttgen, *The Art of Mosaics. Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1992, for example the mosaic after Titian's *Girl with Fruit* of 1830–1834 [L84.38.3 MM109, p. 189, no. 88] or Caravaggio's *Entombment of Christ* of 1843 [L83.18.7 MM262, pp. 132–133, No. 41].

[21] See C.J. Connick, 'Books from a Glassman's Library', in *Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft.*

7. R.T. Giles and Co., *Light of the World*, Minneapolis (Minne-sota), 1905, after William Holman Hunt, Salt Lake City, Utah, First Presbyterian Church. Photo: M.M. Raguin

8. J & R Lamb Studios, *The Finding of Boy Jesus in the Temple* (af-ter Stanford University cartoon), 1908–1910, after William Holman Hunt, Orange (Texas), First Presbyterian Church, Photo: J & R Lamb

on glass painting by authors such as Merson, Westlake, Drake, Delaporte and Houvet, Magne, Arnold and Saint are found.[22] The iconographic references are even more impressive: numerous versions of the Bible, prayer books, missals, indexes to saints' lives, and church symbolism such as Anna Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Adolphe Napoléon Didron's *Christian Iconography or the History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages* (London, 1863), William Caxton's *The Golden Lives of the Saints* (London, 1900) and Durandus' *The Symbolism*

of Churches (translated by the prominent Ecclesiologists, Neale and Webb). Most revealing, however, are the nine-teenth-century publications of collections of religious im-ages similar to the kinds that formed the basis for the im-agery produced by Lamb for Jane Stanford. Frederic Far-rar's *Story of a Beautiful Life Illustrated* (London, 1900), and (anonymous) *The Light of the World or Our Savior in Art* (London, 1899), as well as the Old and New Testa-ment collections after Tissot, were well used and marked by Connick.

An inventory of such works in glass would extend into the many thousands. Just a few examples may hint at the variety of sources and of execution. Gustave Doré's en-graving published in 1877 formed the basis of Tiffany Stu-dios' *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* (Kemper Memorial) of 1888 in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Milwaukee, Min-nesota.[23] J & R Lamb used Holman Hunt's *Finding of the Boy Jesus in the Temple* (Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery) of 1860 for a window installed 1908–1910 in the First Presbyterian Church, Orange, Texas [Fig. 8]. Hein-rich Hofmann's version of the theme proved even more

New York, 1937, pp. 378–391. See also the records of the d'Ascenso studios in the Philadelphia Athenaeum, the Willet archives in the Corning Museum of Glass, and the Burnham archives in the Ar-chives of American Art.

[22] O. Merson, *Les Vitraux*, Paris, 1895; N. Westlake, *A History of Design in Painted Glass*, London, 1881–1894; M. Drake, *A History of English Glass-Painting with Some Remarks upon the Swiss Min-iatures of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, London, 1912; Y. Delaporte, E. Houvet, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Char-tres*, 4 vols, Chartres, 1926; L. Magne, *Décor du verre*, Paris, 1913; H. Arnold, L. Saint, *Stained Glass in England and France*, Lon-don, 1913.

[23] A. Duncan, *Tiffany Windows*, pp. 21–22, fig. 7 (as in note 9).

9. R.T. Giles and Co., *Boy Jesus in the Temple*, Minneapolis (Minnesota), 1905, after Heinrich Hofmann, Salt Lake City (Utah), First Presbyterian Church, Photo: M.M. Raguin

10. J & R Lamb Studios, *Flight into Egypt* (after Stanford University cartoon), 1908–1910, after Bernard Plockhorst, Orange (Texas), First Presbyterian Church, Photo: J & R Lamb

popular. Following the widespread distribution of the image for Sunday School room inspiration, books for youth, Catholic Holy Name Society banners, and even postcards advocating Evangelical Protestant revival meetings, it was one of the most easily recognized depictions of the youthful Christ. R.T. Giles and Co. of Minneapolis produced a window for the First Presbyterian Church of Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1905 [Fig. 9]. Bernard Plockhorst's illustrations were almost as popular as Hofmann's. The *Flight into Egypt,* used in the Stanford University ensemble, was reprised in the First Presbyterian Church, Orange, Texas, by the J & R Lamb Studios [Figs. 10, 11].

The conflux of patron, artist, and shared views of past models operated even for the most prestigious commission. The long-admired west window of Trinity Church in Boston designed by John La Farge exemplifies this issue [Fig. 12]. In 1893 Samuel Bing, visiting America to survey for France the state of the arts at the World's Columbian Exposition, observed that 'all marveled at the large stained-glass window whose astonishing brilliance surpassed in its magic, anything of its kind created in modern times'.[24] La Farge had been awarded the commission in 1880. His original multilevel design included

two narrow Gothic arches that housed figures. His pencil notes next to the image, 'Perhaps better empty without figures', suggests that he wanted them removed.[25] Phillips Brooks, Trinity's charismatic rector, presumably did not. Biographers of the artist have assumed that Brooks suggested the sculpture of the Christ of Amiens as the basis for the window. La Farge then replaced the multilevel design and set the *Beau Dieu* image of Christ in the central lancet and sections of an arcade at the sides. Whether it was Brooks or La Farge who initiated the use of the image is less important than the fact that an accepted model was known to both patron and artist, one of the near universal references for its late nineteenth-century audience. Its status reflects the context of the era's canon of great works of art, communicated through photograph, engraving, and literary description.

24 This is one of the rare instances when Bing referred to a specific installation. S. Bing, *La Culture artistique en Amérique*. transl. by B. Eisler as 'Artistic America', in *Artistic America, Tiffany Glass and Art Nouveau*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970 [1895], p. 132.

25 Sketch for West Windows of Nave, Trinity Church, Boston 1883, Private collection, Henry La Farge in *John La Farge*, exh. cat. The Carnegie Museum of Art and the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, New York, 1987, pp. 208–210, figs. 153–154.

11. Bernard Plockhorst, *Flight into Egypt*. Photo after: H.T. Bailey, *The Great Painters' Gospel,* Boston (Massachusetts), 1900

13. *Beau Dieu* of Amiens, frontispiece, Frederic W. Farrar, *The Life of Christ as Represented in Art*, 1900
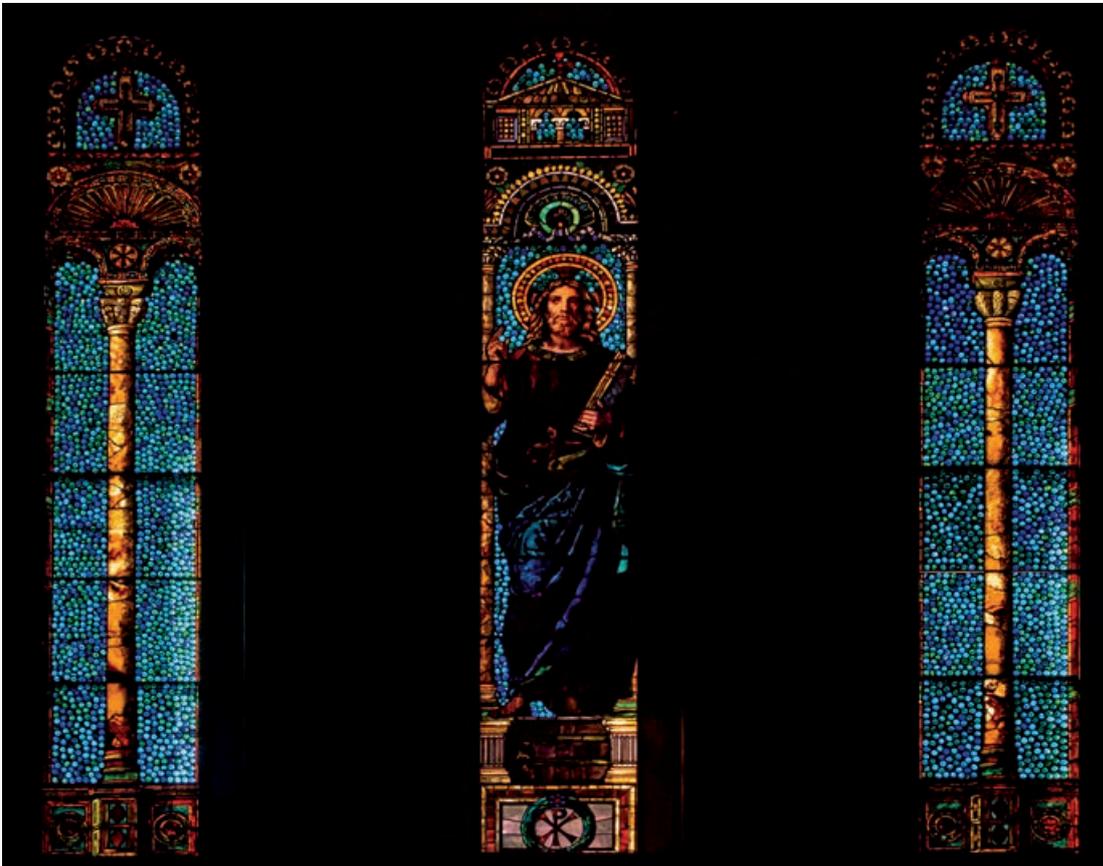
12. John la Farge, *Christ Preaching*, 1883, after *Beau Dieu* of Amiens, Boston, Trinity Church. Photo: J. Howe

In Boston these judgments were propagated through a passionate and cultivated set that included the patrons of the windows at Harvard and Trinity Church. One of the chief figures in this intersection of art, culture and religion was Charles Eliot Norton, from 1874 through 1899 first professor of the history of art at Harvard.[26] In 1855 he had begun a long and productive friendship with John Ruskin, the extraordinarily prolific writer on Romantic painting, architecture, and religious feeling.[27] Ruskin did not create the importance of the Amiens Christ, but he made it an ineluctable part of any cultivated Christian's artistic awareness. His *Bible of Amiens* describes the sculpture as the true keystone of both art and faith. Ruskin hearkens back to another authority, citing Viollet--le-Duc's analysis of the *Beau Dieu* of Amiens.[28] Few have come close to the eloquence of Ruskin's description of the sculpture, the center of the portal, the center of the building, and the center of religion itself. A small indication of the impact of these thoughts twenty years later is seen upon opening Frederic W. Farrar's popular book *The Life of Christ as Represented in Art*. Its frontispiece [Fig. 13] is the Christ of Amiens and Farrar's description within the text repeats Ruskin's evaluation.[29] La Farge assimilated the form and power of the sculpture and communicated it to an audience already receptive to the issues behind the selection of model.[30]

In 1888, La Farge's *Beau Dieu* was followed by the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* [Fig. 14] a memorial

14. John La Farge, *Presentation of the Virgin*, 1888, after Titian, Boston, Trinity Church, south nave. Photo: M.M. Raguin

to Julia Appleton McKim dedicated by her husband, Charles Follen McKim, and her sister Alice.[31] McKim was a partner of McKim, Mead, and White, the architects of the Boston Public Library. He selected the artist and also

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[26] For Eliot's influence see K. McClintock, 'The Classroom and the Courtyard: Medievalism in American Highbrow Culture', in E.B. Smith et al., *Medieval Art in America: Patterns of Collecting 1800–1940*, exh. cat., Palmer Museum of Art, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1996, pp. 41–54; M. Green, *The Problem of Boston: Some Readings in Cultural History*, New York, 1966, pp. 122–141.

[27] Ruskin is probably best known today as the author of *The Stones of Venice*, 3 vols, London, 1851–1853, and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London, 1849.

[28] E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, Paris, 1869, vol. 3, pp. 216–218. The article is on the subject "Christ" where the sculpture at Amiens is illustrated in full and in a detail of the head. The author compares the head to Greek statuary, describing the High Gothic image as the supreme accomplishment of the type from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries.

[29] Esp. 488: 'Mr. Ruskin selects as the noblest ideal of Christ known to him a sculptured figure of the thirteenth century on the west front of Amiens Cathedral. ...Into this figure the artist has put a world of true and noble thought. Christ is standing at the central point of all History, and of all Revelation: the Christ, or Prophesied Messiah of all Past, the King and Redeemer of Future Time…'.

[30] See, for a discussion of La Farge's complex sources and deliberate references to Palma Vecchio, Raphael, Giotto, Giovanni Pisano, and Cimabue, H.B. Weinberg, 'La Farge's Eclectic Idealism in Three New York City Churches', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 10, 1975, pp. 199–228.

[31] The window was installed in 1888 and is inscribed 'PLACED IN LOVING MEMORY OF JULIA APPLETON / 1859–1887 / BY HER HUSBAND CHARLES F MCKIM AND HER SISTER ALICE'.

15. John La Farge, fabricated by Thomas Wright, *Wisdom Enthroned*, Oakes Ames Memorial, 1901, North Easton (Massachusetts), Unity Church. Photo: M.M. Raguin

appears to have selected the image to commemorate his wife's death at age twenty-eight. The central image refers to the painting by Titian, 1535–1538 now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. The Latin text of the inscription cites this source and alludes, as well, to the concept of light: 'Shines in glass the distinct and well-known face of the Blessed Virgin as first painted by Titian, and most resembling the beloved wife in whose memory this record shines'.[32] The Renaissance painting is a huge canvas showing a long stairway, framed at the bottom by a crowd of onlookers and at the top by the High Priest and two assistants. The painting was highly regarded and numerous reproductions in print form circulated from the seventeenth century onwards. Only the segment showing the isolated figure of the Virgin on the stairs is transferred to the window composition. The figure is framed within the compositional design as if it were a relic from the past. At the bottom of the frame, set on another spatial plane and seeming to reflect on the image above, a seated figure plays a lute.[33] Both patron and artist were united by a common culture, aware of Italian Renaissance models, exemplified by McKim's work on Boston's library and for the Walker Art Building at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, for which McKim commissioned La Farge to execute a lunette on the theme of *Athens*.[34]

More subtle references abound, for example the memorial to Oakes Ames, *Wisdom Enthroned* [Fig. 15] of 1901. Evoking a Renaissance 'sacra conversazione', among a standing group of saints and the divine presence, the composition evokes paintings such as Veneziano's fifteenth-century *St. Lucy Altarpiece* that La Farge must have known from his visits to the Uffizi in 1894. A watercolor sketch for the window does not include inscription bands, although the composition strongly suggests that the text ultimately incorporated around the side of the window was intended from the beginning.[35] 'Wisdom is more precious than rubies and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Length of days is in her right hand and in her left hand riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace' (Proverbs 3: 15–17).

La Farge mentioned in a letter that he patterned the older figure after Donatello's *St. Mark* from Orsanmichele, Florence.[36] The young warrior crowned with laurel also evokes Renaissance prototypes, as exemplified by images of St. Michael in popular Luca della Robbia ceramic plaques. La Farge also juxtaposed the traditional symbols of contemplative life, the bearded philosopher, and active life, the youthful soldier. La Farge, and even his lesser-endowed colleagues, were not replicating to cut corners. They were engaged in a continuation of themes for a new patronage aware of historic cultures. Whether closely-modeled copy or evocative reference, these windows were part of the deeply eclectic culture of the nineteenth century.

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[32] NITET VITRO VIRGINIS BEATAE FACES A TITIANO PRIVS DEPICTA CONIVCI DILECTA SIMILLIMA CVIVS HAEC RECORDATIO LVCET.

[33] The cartoon for the *Suonatore* (Luteplayer) is now in the collection of the Worcester Art Museum, 1907.4. See *Half a Century of American Art*, exh. cat. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1940, p. 29, pl. VIII. The painting had been exhibited in 1890 with the title 'Child Playing upon a Guitar, Italian Motive'.

[34] H.B. WEINBERG, in *John La Farge* (as in note 25), p. 187, fig. 140.

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[35] Los Angeles County Museum of Art 33.11.5, Gift of Miss Bella Mabury. The sketch measures 17 13/16 by 11 13/16 inches and was once in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison.

[36] H.B. WEINBERG, *The Decorative Works of John La Farge*, New York, 1977, p. 406. La Farge worked from a photographic reproduction and was articulate about his wanting his audience to recognize the source.

SUMMARY

Virginia Raguin
OLD IMAGERY FOR A NEW CENTURY

Keywords: stained glass, 19th century, eclectic revival, Christian religion, replicas

Nineteenth-century glass painters admired medieval art for its decorative brilliance, but for the image itself, the art of Europe from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries provided the most appropriate themes and figural models. Their reliance on art of these eras reflected the bias already effective in their patrons. The foundation of the great nineteenth-century public collections was the art of the Renaissance from the Lowlands, Germany, and Italy. Nineteenth-century artists inspired by the Renaissance and Baroque, such as Ernst Deger, Anton Dietrich, Gustave Doré, Heinrich Hofmann, William Holman Hunt, and Bernard Plockhorst could also become universally recognized across denominations and media. Their rendering of the themes of the *Boy Jesus in the Temple, Flight into Egypt, or Christ Knocking at the Door* become standard 'icons' of Christian instruction. To understand the climate in nineteenth-century concerning art, religion, and replication for the public, we must remember that our public institutions of art were populated with copies in painting, print and plaster cast. Museums have changed, but in many ways the churches built by the patrons of this era remain time capsules preserving the ideas concerning art, public service, and morality. An inventory of such works in glass includes virtually every studio, including Louis Comfort Tiffany, J and R Lamb, and Charles J. Connick, and the lesser known such as the R.T. Giles and Co. of Minneapolis or the Ford Brothers Glass Company, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago. The conflux of patron, artist, and shared views of past models operated even for the most prestigious commissions such as the complex opalescent creations of John La Farge in the late nineteenth century.

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THE GOTHIC REVIVAL CHARACTER OF ECCLESIASTICAL STAINED GLASS IN BRITAIN

At the outset of the nineteenth century, commissions for new pictorial windows for cathedrals, churches and secular settings in Britain were few and were usually characterised by the practice of painting on glass in enamels. Skilful use of the technique made it possible to achieve an effect that was similar to oil painting, and had dispensed with the need for leading coloured glass together in the medieval manner. In the eighteenth century, exponents of the technique included William Price, William Peckitt, Thomas Jervais and Francis Eginton, and although the exquisite painterly qualities of the best of their windows are sometimes exceptional, their reputation was tarnished for many years following the rejection of the style in Britain during the mid-nineteenth century.[1]

The similarity to contemporary oil painting was strengthened by the practice of copying paintings of religious subjects, and painters such as Benjamin West and Joshua Reynolds supplied original designs for Francis Eginton of Birmingham, who made windows for cathedrals at Salisbury, Lichfield and St Asaph, although in many cases his work has been moved or lost.[2] His window of Christ contemplating the Crucifixion of 1795 survives at the Church of St Alkmund, Shrewsbury and is a theme with similarities to his window of 1800 for St Asaph Cathedral, now at the Church of St Tegla, Llandegla. Both depict the youthful Christ, although the figure in the window at Shrewsbury appears to be a copy of the figure of Mary in the *Assumption of the Virgin* by Guido Reni

(1637), which has caused some confusion over the subject of the window [Fig. 1].[3]

The scene at Shrewsbury is painted on rectangular sheets of glass, although the large window is arched and its framework is subdivided into lancets. The shape of the window demonstrates the influence of the Gothic Revival for the design of the new Church of St Alkmund, which was a Georgian building of 1793–1795 built to replace the medieval church that had been pulled down. The Gothic Revival was well underway in Britain by the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly among aristocratic patrons who built and re-fashioned their country homes with Gothic features, complete with furniture and stained glass inspired by the Middle Ages.

Windows painted with layers of enamel paint suffered from a reduction in transparency, and to introduce more light and stronger colour, glass painters looked back to the medieval styles and methods of making stained glass, reintroducing coloured glass into their designs, and augmenting the painterly techniques of artists such as Thomas

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[1] For an overview of this period see S. Brown, *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History*, London, 1992, pp. 120–125.

[2] For the work of Francis Eginton see 'Glass Painters of Birmingham, Francis Eginton, 1737–1805', *Journal of the British Society of Master-Glass Painters*, 2, 1927, no. 2, pp. 63–71.

[3] Among others, Nikolaus Pevsner perceived the figure as female, and some have interpreted it as a figure of Faith or Hope. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire*, London, 1958, p. 256. The figure stands over the cross with the cup of suffering also shown below, and shares similarities with the standing figure of the young Christ made by Eginton for St Asaph, amid cherubs toying with the instruments of the Passion. It is unlikely that a large east window at an Anglican church would have depicted the Virgin Mary as a principal subject at this date when Roman Catholicism was still officially suppressed by the British state. Pevsner's comment on the window's being 'not at all unattractive, however much one must object to the lack of any principles of design', is suggestive of the lingering distaste for the technique even in the mid-twentieth century.

1. Francis Eginton, *Christ Contemplating the Cross*, 1795, Shrewsbury (Shropshire), Church of St Alkmund, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

2. David Evans, *St John the Evangelist, St John Baptist and St Peter*, c. 1820, Berrington (Shropshire), Church of All Saints, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

Jervais and Francis Eginton with the application of silver stain. This approach can be seen in the work of William Peckitt, such as his late eighteenth-century Old Testament figures located in the south transept of York Minster, which use coloured glass to outline the figure and some of the surrounding decorative detail. Eginton's window at St Alkmund's employs no decorative detail, with the sky and background extending across the whole window, but Peckitt's figures stand within decorative architectural niches. The painted arches are Renaissance rather than medieval but the use of pointed or cusped arches, whether imposed by the stonework or added in the design, became a regular feature of stained glass design by the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The adoption of Gothic motifs and the loosening of the Georgian pictorial style characterises much of the stained glass made for churches during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. Martin Harrison singles out Thomas

Willement, J.H. Miller and Betton & Evans as artists representative of this transition, although the survival rate of their works is poor, as many of them were replaced by new windows that conformed to the prevailing fashions in the second half of the nineteenth century.[4] Windows by David Evans of Shrewsbury, especially later works, survive in the town where he worked, in the surrounding areas of Shropshire, and across the northern half of Wales. Evans initially worked in partnership with John Betton, before taking sole control of the firm in 1825, and Betton & Evans restored and made copies of a wide range of medieval and Renaissance stained glass.

David Evans' original work demonstrates stylistic variety and technical skill. Few of his windows of the 1820s in a late Georgian style have survived, but a well-preserved example can be found in the east window at Berrington, Shropshire [Fig. 2]. The three saints stand with a clouded background behind them, and the tracery lights above are filled with cherubs and heraldry in a style that does not clearly match the figures below. The garments worn by the figures are composed of large areas of coloured glass, cut to outline the cloaks and robes,

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[4] M. HARRISON, *Victorian Stained Glass*, London, 1980, pp. 15–17.

3. David Evans, *St Peter, St John and St Paul*, 1840–1843, Bangor (Gwynedd), Cathedral, formerly part of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

4. David Evans, *Scenes from the Gospels*, 1843, Cressage (Shropshire), Christ Church, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

while the backgrounds have the vestige of the rectangular glass panels familiar from the work of both Peckitt and Francis Eginton. Evans' figures of 1840 and 1843 for the east window at Bangor Cathedral are designed and painted in a similar chiaroscuro manner [Fig. 3], although carefully modelled Gothic niches, with white glass canopies heightened with silver stain, surround the figures in preference to the stormy backgrounds that are found at Berrington.[5]

Small biblical scenes of 1841 by David Evans from the east window of the Church of St Giles, Wrexham survive in the church, although they were removed from their original position in about 1914. In contrast with the figures at Bangor and Berrington, they suggest a sixteenth-century

style, employing silver stain and the restrained use of enamel colour. The medallions are currently set in plain glass surrounds, although it is likely that they were originally surrounded by brightly coloured geometric borders such as those in a similar style of 1843 at Cressage in Shropshire [Fig. 4]. In these small scenes we can appreciate Evans as an inventive copyist, adapting recognisable works of the old masters as well as the work of more contemporary artists. This includes the Christ from Raphael's *Transfiguration*, which was a figure regularly reproduced in nineteenth-century stained glass, and Rubens' *Descent from the Cross* (1612–1614), as well as William Hamilton's *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, of c. 1792.

Evans also translated Raphael's *Transfiguration* and Rubens' *Descent from the Cross* as large scenes for other windows. The *Descent from the Cross*, from the second of Rubens' great altarpieces for Antwerp Cathedral, is reproduced in the east window of 1842 for the Church of St Chad, Shrewsbury, and flanked by copies of the outer panels of the altarpiece, which are compositions that he also reproduced in other windows at Llangollen and Penrhyn Castle in north Wales. The window follows Rubens' chiaroscuro approach and owes nothing to the Gothic

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[5] These windows were funded by public subscription and presented as a mark of esteem and respect for Revd J.H. Cotton, on his elevation from vicar to dean of the cathedral in 1838. Despite being removed by the architect George Gilbert Scott when the cathedral chancel was restored in 1873, considerable public support ensured that they were reset in windows at the west end of the cathedral (Dean Cotton had died relatively recently, in 1862). See letters published in *North Wales Chronicle*, 12 October 1872, p. 7. For the dating of the windows see: M. Crampin, 'The Date and Arrangement of Bangor Cathedral East Window', *Stained Glass from Welsh Churches*, 2014, https://stainedglasswales.wordpress.com/2015/09/10/the-date-and-arrangement-of-bangor-cathedral-east-window [retrieved 19 October 2019].

5. David Evans, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1846, Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury (Shropshire), detail of the east window of the Trinity Chapel. Photo: M. Crampin

Revival, set behind a Venetian arch and Corinthian pillars.[6] In this and other windows, such as the three chancel windows of 1844 for Christ Church, Welshpool, no decorative borders have been added, but at the Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury, a medieval church dating mainly to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, large scenes are framed by architectural borders, which are more characteristic of the Gothic Revival, although the ornament is more Renaissance than medieval. Evans again draws on contrasting sources: The *Adoration of the Magi* is a copy of a sixteenth-century window from a monastery at Aerschot, Belgium, restored by Evans with new glass for Rugby School chapel,[7] while the scene of Christ blessing children adapts the composition by the Nazarene artist Friedrich

Overbeck, broadening it out across three lights [Fig. 5]. At West Felton, Shropshire, a set of six post-Resurrection scenes with fully coloured backgrounds are contained within the window lights but have elaborate coloured medieval canopies over each scene, creating an uneasy relationship between the Gothic architectural framing and the scenes themselves, which are more reminiscent of sixteenth-century Flemish and German stained glass.

The use of coloured glass to achieve bright and transparent colour was a method familiar to David Evans from his work restoring medieval and Renaissance stained glass. Evans demonstrated his ability to reproduce earlier styles when required to do so, and the work of Betton & Evans in replacing the late fourteenth-century east window of Winchester College Chapel in 1821 with their own copy is well known.[8] Evans restored important examples of medieval stained glass, such as the fourteenth-century east window now at the Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury, and the fifteenth-century glass at the Church of St Laurence, Ludlow, supplementing the medieval glass with his

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[6] Remarkably, for a window that characterises pre-Gothic Revival nineteenth-century stained glass, it replaced an earlier window by Francis Eginton, made only about fifty years previously.

[7] I am grateful to Aidan McRae Thomson for the identification of the source of this image. Nikolaus Pevsner incorrectly identifies the original as by Murillo in *The Buildings of England: Shropshire*, London, 1958, p. 255.

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[8] M. HARRISON, *Victorian Stained Glass*, pp. 16–17 (as in note 4).

own work in the same style. Given this knowledge of medieval stained glass, his use of pictorial models from no earlier than the sixteenth century, instead of medieval exemplars, for his new commissions can clearly be understood as an artistic choice, and suggests that his own medievalism remained largely superficial.

By the 1840s an increasing number of stained glass artists were responding to both an increase in demand for stained glass for churches and to the demand for more thoroughgoing medieval styles. The decision build the new Houses of Parliament in a Gothic style helped to bring the style from the realm of eccentric medieval enthusiasts and connoisseurs into the architectural mainstream, and the young architect and designer Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin assisted the architect Charles Barry with much of the design of the building, and particularly the fittings, including designs for stained glass that were made by John Hardman of Birmingham and Ballantine & Allan of Edinburgh.[9] Pugin's extensive artistic output, alongside his polemical writings arguing for a return to medieval styles, were to have a transformative effect on British architecture, particularly for the design of churches.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century also saw a new phase of the Gothic Revival in architecture that adopted a more literal, archaeological approach to medieval models, which was more earnest and less playful, and arguably less original as it sought precedent and accuracy.[10] The adoption of a more scholarly approach to Gothic Revival architecture was made possible by the classification of Gothic architecture by Thomas Rickman, whose *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* was first published in 1817.[11] Rickman's work, alongside further illustrated works on Gothic architecture, provided architects and critics with a succession of defined and dateable medieval styles, from the Norman (or English Romanesque), to Perpendicular Gothic. Architects were able to select from these styles and Pugin seized on the Gothic, what he termed 'pointed', as the architectural style most suitable for English church architecture. An apologist for both Gothic architecture and Catholicism (he became a Roman Catholic in 1834), he attacked the 'Classical', or 'Pagan', influence on contemporary architecture and the pluralism of architectural influences from the ancient world. Pugin regarded these architectural styles as embodying their religion – heathen temples built for
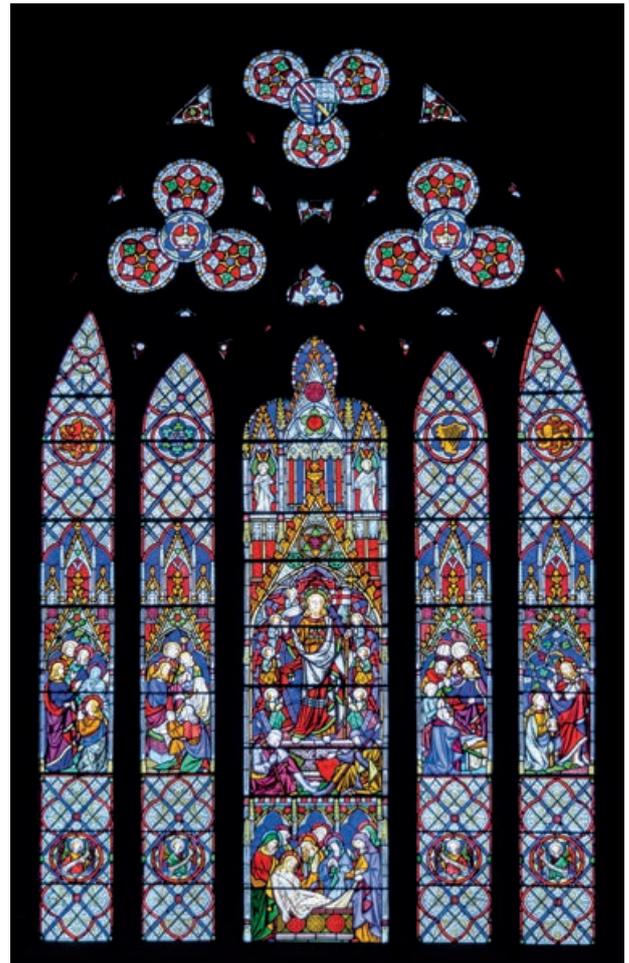
6. John Hardman & Co., designed by A.W.N. Pugin, *The Resurrection with Scenes from the Gospels*, 1850, Chester Cathedral, south choir aisle. Photo: M. Crampin

idolatrous worship – which rendered them unsuitable for Christian architecture.[12] This belief went beyond ecclesiastical architecture and design, and he argued that a national, 'Catholic', architecture, based on 'pointed' design, should supplant Classical or Baroque architecture because 'we are Englishmen'.[13] The son of a French immigrant, he sought to resist an encroaching European uniformity of style, observing that: 'a sort of bastard Greek, a nondescript modern style, has ravaged many of the most interesting cities of Europe; replacing the original national buildings'.[14]

Pugin designed many stained glass windows for his buildings and undertook further commissions for churches and cathedrals. The design of these windows followed his preference for stained glass design of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and were made to his design

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[9] For Pugin's stained glass and the decoration of the Houses of Parliament see S.A. Shepherd, 'Stained Glass', in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, ed. by P. Atterbury, C. Wainwright, New Haven and London, 1994, pp. 195–206, and also other chapters in the volume.

[10] For an introduction to the period see chapters four and five of M. Aldrich, *Gothic Revival*, London, 1994.

[11] M. Aldrich, 'Thomas Rickman's Handbook of Gothic Architecture and the Taxonomic Classification of the Past', in *Antiquaries & Archaists: the Past in the Past, the Past in the Present*, ed. by M. Aldrich, R.J. Wallis, Reading, 2009, pp. 62–74.

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[12] See for example, A.W.N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott,* London, 1841, pp. 45–51.

[13] Ibidem.

[14] Ibidem.
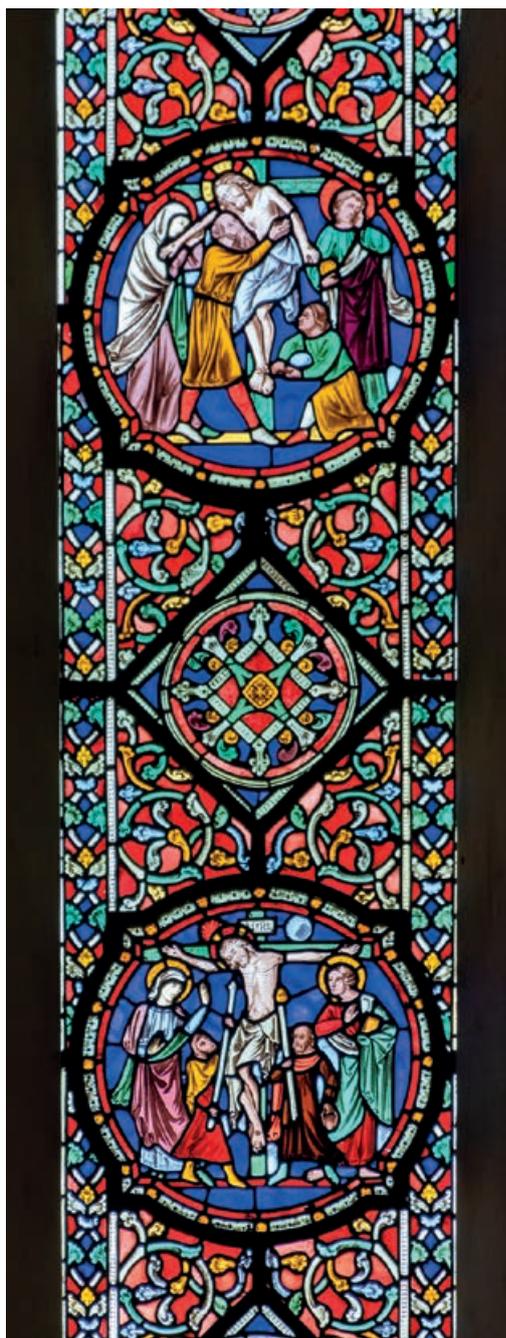
7. John Hardman & Co., designed by A.W.N. Pugin, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, 1850, Cambridge, Chapel of Jesus College, detail of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

by artists including William Warrington, Thomas Willement and William Wailes, before he persuaded his friend and collaborator, John Hardman, to establish a stained glass studio where his windows could be made according to his instructions.[15] While Pugin acknowledged that the 'art of glass painting' arrived at 'its greatest perfection'

in the early sixteenth century,[16] he also perceived the decline of stained glass in the following decades, coinciding with the decline of pointed architecture, when scenes 'were unconnected in form with the stonework and appeared to pass behind the mullions'. He also describes the mistake of treating 'the panes of windows like pictures or transparencies with forcing lights and shadows'.[17] His criticism of the pictorial chiaroscuro technique, typical of the work of academic oil painting and reflected in the work of glass painters from Thomas Jervais to David Evans, was made on moral grounds, as he held it obscured the natural transparency of glass.

The figures and scenes in stained glass designed by Pugin are confined within the window lights, and the compartmentalisation of scenes and figures required varying amounts of decorative surrounds, which were composed of architectural frameworks and geometric patterns. This can be seen in the window made by John Hardman & Co. to Pugin's design at Chester Cathedral, with crocketed and coloured architectural niches placed over the six scenes, and grisaille patterns above and below in the outer lights, punctuated by roundels depicting angels and symbolising the four nations of the British Isles, while floral patterns occupy the trefoils in the tracery above, which is effectively integrated into the overall design [Fig. 6]. Some of Pugin's earlier designs for stained glass are closer to the style of the fifteenth century, such as the windows made in 1838 by William Warrington for the Chapel of St Mary's College, Oscott, whereas his design for the tall slender windows in the east wall of the Chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge, is reminiscent of some of the earlier thirteenth-century windows at Chartres Cathedral [Fig. 7]. The formal layout of the windows, with scenes placed in roundels suspended in brightly coloured geometric foliate patterns, was also adopted in windows by David Evans, such as in his east window at Cressage, although in contrast Evans' medallions use no coloured glass, and are reminiscent of Flemish roundels of the sixteenth century.

Pugin's approach to stained glass design met with the approval of the influential Cambridge Camden Society (founded in 1839 and reformed as the Ecclesiological Society in London in 1845), and the society's views were expressed through its journal, *The Ecclesiologist*. Among the first remarks on stained glass published in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1843, the writer stresses the importance of 'ornamenting the spaces between the mullions' and adds that 'filling a whole window with one large picture, as at King's College chapel [Cambridge], is a sign of the debasement

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[15] See S.A. Shepherd, *The Stained Glass of A.W.N. Pugin*, Reading, 2009.

[16] A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts; or, a Parallel between the Architecture of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*, London, 1836, p. 4.

[17] A.W.N. Pugin, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, London, 1843, p. 84 (reprinted from Pugin's second article published in the *Dublin Review*, 23, February 1842).

of the art'.[18] While the article commended recent windows by Thomas Willement and William Warrington as 'equal in all respects to the best works of antiquity', earlier windows were criticised as failing to conform to medieval models: 'the dignity and grandeur of the symboled saint and vested bishop were succeeded by youthful and comely portraits in elegant attitudes and large red and blue mantles. Instead of ornamenting glass, we converted it into canvas'.[19] The large mantles are suggestive of David Evans's figures, and a window by Evans for Ely Cathedral was singled out for criticism because of its lack of 'affectation of antiquity'. The 'figures are so completely *modern*', 'too large and over-finished, and are spoiled by being shaded; for the ancient artists "never attempted shading in painting glass", but represented faces, naked limbs, the folds of the vestments, &c, by simple lines'.[20] David Evans took the trouble to respond to *The Ecclesiologist*, but only complained that the 'enormous cost' of the window was £310, and not £500 as reported.[21]

The arguments and preferences of A.W.N. Pugin and the Ecclesiological Society set the tone for much of the stained glass being commissioned for churches in Britain in the middle years of the nineteenth century.[22] The revival of medieval styles was also encouraged by clergy and patrons influenced by the Oxford Movement, who were also known as Tractarians. The Oxford Movement sought to restore elements of pre-Reformation liturgy and theology to the established Anglican church, and encouraged the furnishing of churches with decorative and figural art. Tractarian patrons and their architects were consequently most likely to ornament their new or restored churches with stained glass, and looked to medieval models as a way of reconnecting with the Middle Ages. In addition to conforming to Gothic tastes, stained glass designers and makers sought patrons through membership of influential societies. Frederick Preedy, who was unusual as an architect who also made his own stained glass, gained commissions by joining the Ecclesiological Society,[23] and Nathaniel Lavers joined in 1856.[24] Joseph Bell gained not only patronage through his membership of the Bristol and West Architectural Society, but also access to their library, enabling him to study the growing number of
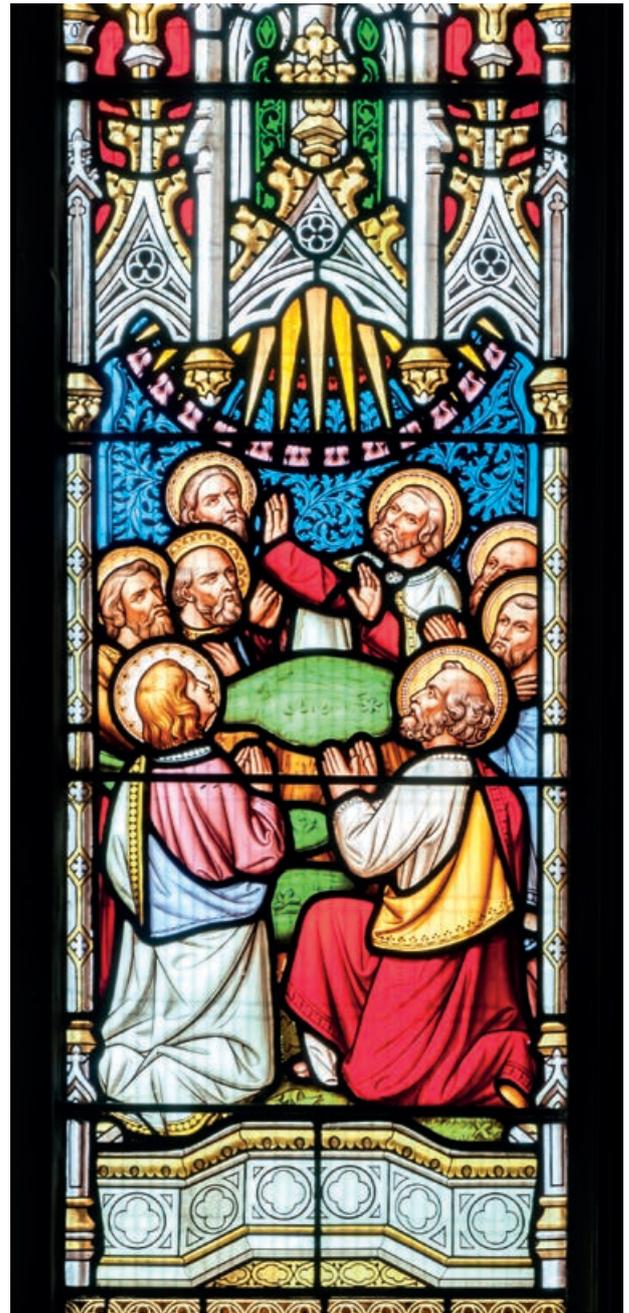
8. William Wailes, *The Ascension*, c. 1856, Mold (Flintshire), Church of St Mary, detail of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

books and articles that would help him render Gothic ornament more accurately.[25]

The appeal of the Middle Ages was further popularised by the success of the Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition in London of 1851, arranged by A.W.N. Pugin with the help of his collaborators including John Hardman. Presenting a vision of medieval art and design, the Court was described in *The Builder* as 'a whole of great completeness, and considerable excellence', while the *Illustrated London News* hailed it as the 'best harmonized

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[18] *The Ecclesiologist*, 3, 1843, p. 17.

[19] Ibidem, pp. 16–17.

[20] Ibidem, p. 17.

[21] *The Ecclesiologist*, 4, 1845, p. 292.

[22] For a more detailed account of the importance of A.W.N. Pugin, the Ecclesiological Society and other key figures to the development of stained glass in the period, see chapter one of J. Cheshire, *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*, Manchester, 2004, pp. 1–32.

[23] M. Kerney, *The Stained Glass of Frederick Preedy (1820–1898): A Catalogue of Designs*, London, 2001, p. 7.

[24] W. Waters, *Angels & Icons: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass 1850–1870*, Abbots Morton, 2012, p. 126.

[25] J. Cheshire, *Stained Glass*, pp. 114–119 (as in note 22).
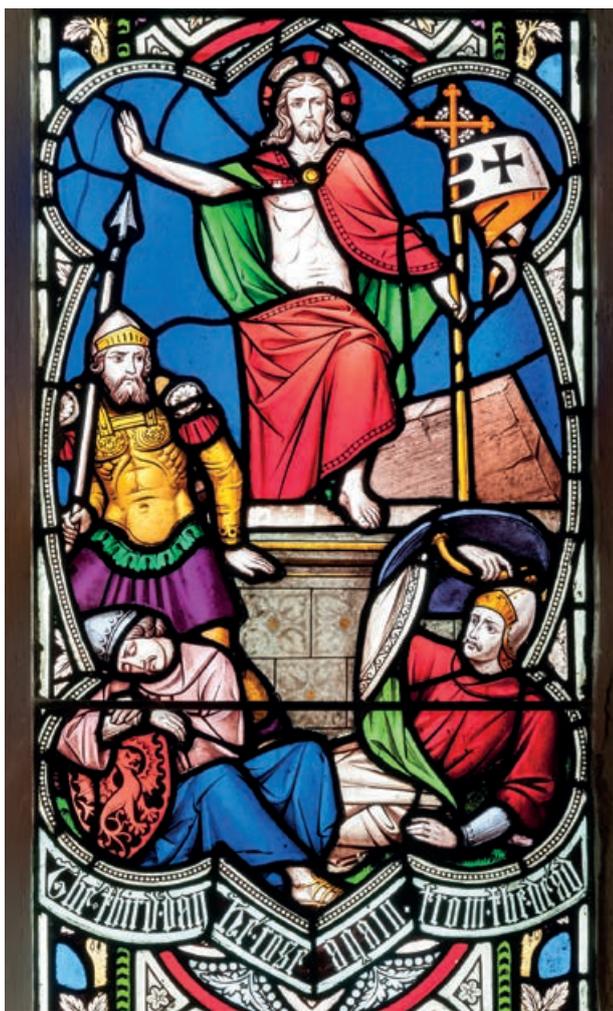
9. N.W. Lavers, designed by Alfred Bell, *The Resurrection*, c. 1855, Aberporth (Ceredigion), Church of St Cynwyl, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

display of art and skill' at the exhibition.[26] There was an unprecedented interest in the medieval past in Britain during the 1840s and 50s, which was reflected in political thought, literature and a wide range of visual culture.[27] The Great Exhibition also brought the work of European exhibitors of stained glass to public attention in London, and the stained glass on display was stylistically diverse. *The Ecclesiologist* declared that the best stained glass was that exhibited by French artists such as Alfred Gérente,

Antoine Lusson and Charles Marechal, with its mastery of medieval styles.[28]

The effect of this increased ecclesiological and popular medievalism was that the majority of windows that were commissioned for churches in the 1850s were reminiscent of the stained glass of the later twelfth to the earlier fourteenth centuries, as found in the northern cathedrals of France and in England. This can be seen in the predominant style of the major stained glass firms in Britain, such as John Hardman & Co. (Birmingham), Michael and Arthur O'Connor (London), Ballantine & Allen (Edinburgh) and William Wailes (Newcastle), as well as the burgeoning number of studios about which we know much less, such as William Holland (Warwick), Forrest & Bromley (Liverpool), William Miller, Edward and Thomas Baillie, and those of members of the Gibbs family (all based in London).

The medievalism of the work of these artists and studios is evident in a variety of ways, especially in contrast with the late eighteenth-century work by Thomas Jervais and Francis Eginton. Relatively small pieces of coloured and white glass were leaded together and these lead lines were integral to the design of the windows, in contrast to the reliance on coloured enamels painted on rectangular panes of glass. The decorative framework of the windows frequently made use of geometric designs, and coloured medieval architectural Gothic canopies. Further research is needed to appreciate the range of sources that were appropriated for the scenes and figures, and the extent to which they were original to their nineteenth-century designers, although many are clearly reminiscent of medieval convention. For example, scenes of the *Ascension* often show just the feet of Christ at the apex of the design, or sometimes only the patch of grass on which Christ stood before being taken up to heaven [Fig. 8], a convention that can be found from the mid-thirteenth century at Le Mans Cathedral to the early sixteenth century at Fairford in Gloucestershire. Scenes of the *Resurrection* often betray medieval influence not only in the manner in which Christ steps out of the empty tomb, holding a cross or the gonfalon with the red cross of the *Resurrection*, but also the tomb itself, which is invariably a medieval chest tomb, rather than one cut into the hillside, from which the stone has been rolled away [Fig. 9].[29] Similarly, the soldiers who sleep or crouch in fear below, so often part of the medieval image, are rendered as medieval knights rather than Roman soldiers. Trees are frequently drawn in a stylised form, and in a window designed by Frederick Preedy, the whale from which Jonah emerges is characteristic of a creature from a medieval bestiary [Fig. 10], as are many of the lions that were used to symbolise the apostle Mark.

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26 *The Builder*, 21 June 1851, p. 383; 'The Medieval Court', *Illustrated London News*, 20 September 1851 (Exhibition Supplement), p. 362. For Pugin's Medieval Court see A. WEDGWOOD, 'The Medieval Court' in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, pp. 237–245 (as in note 9); J. ALLEN, 'A.W.N. Pugin, Stained Glass and the 1851 Medieval Court', *True Principles* 5:1, 2016, pp. 11–28.

27 See for example M. ALEXANDER, *Medievalism: the Middle Ages in Modern England*, New Haven and London, 2007; J. PARKER 'Imagining the Middle Ages', in *Art & Soul: Victorians and the Gothic*, ed. by J. Parker, C. Wagner, Bristol, 2014, pp. 7–39.

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28 *The Ecclesiologist*, 12, 1851, p. 182.

29 The image is best known in the fresco by Piero della Francesca (c. 1490), but earlier examples, including many from Britain, may be found in wall painting, alabaster and stained glass.

These medievalising characteristics – the use of the mosaic style, architectural borders, and medieval iconography – can be found in varying degrees in the majority of stained glass windows made for churches in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Further distinctive characteristics were the distinctive colouration of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century stained glass – blue, red, green and ochre – and the avoidance of too much modelling of figures or of a sense of perspective in favour of a simplified, two-dimensional draughtsmanship. The imitation of the flat medieval draughtsmanship typical of stained glass prior to the mid-fifteenth century did not always produce satisfactory results, and critics complained about the awkward attempts of glass painters to imitate what was regarded as inferior medieval drawing predating the Renaissance.[30]

The Gothic Revival character of so much stained glass made for churches in the 1850s contrasts with the stylistic variety that was on display at the Great Exhibition.

Chance Brothers of Smethwick exhibited stained glass 'in all conceivable styles',[31] and even Hardman's stained glass in the Medieval Court included late medieval styles in order to demonstrate the development of medieval stained glass into the sixteenth century.[32] The rich variation of approach to glass painting is harder to discern in ecclesiastical commissions of the period, even though studios were clearly capable of producing windows in a wide range of styles. The exhibitors were keen to attract commissions for civic and domestic stained glass, as well as for churches, and the breadth of stained glass made at the time for these secular contexts remains in need of much further research and publication.

One of the associate jurors for stained glass at the Great Exhibition was Charles Winston, whose *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, especially in England, with Hints on Glass Painting* was the first study of the styles of medieval stained glass published in England.[33] Winston concurred with the prevailing view that the mosaic style was 'the only true system of glass painting', as opposed to the dependence on enamels, while promoting the use of what he called 'Perpendicular' and 'Cinquecento'. This style was typified by the windows of King's College, Cambridge and the windows in the Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral that were originally made for the Abbey of Herkenrode, and Winston encouraged the use of this style of stained glass as a starting point for the development of the art of stained glass in the
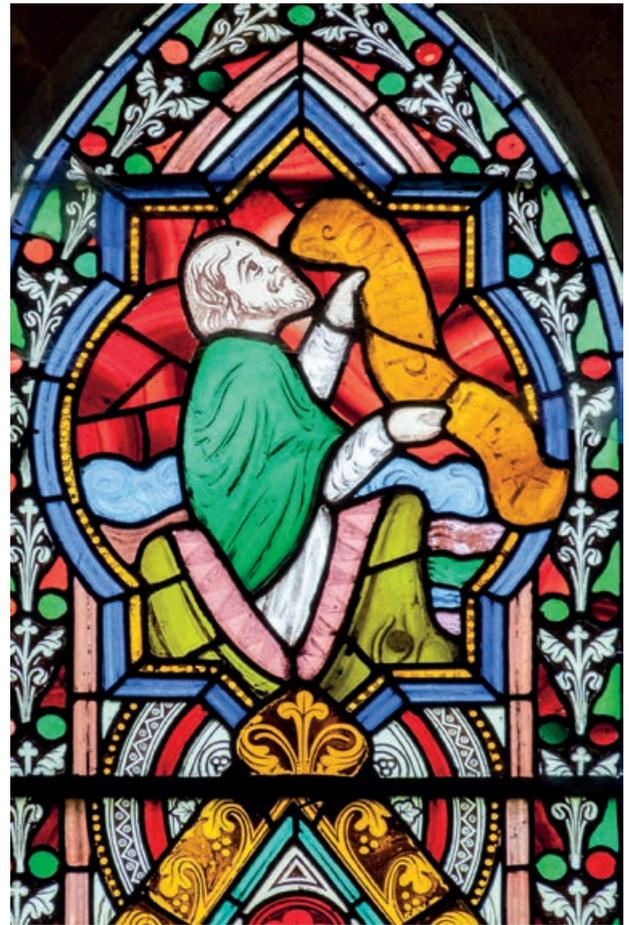
10. Frederick Preedy (design), *Jonah and the Whale*, c. 1851, Merthyr Mawr (Glamorgan), Church of St Teilo, detail of the east window. Photo: M. Crampin

mid-nineteenth century.[34] This went against the prevailing view of *The Ecclesiologist*,[35] as did his advancement of George Hedgeland, who received several prestigious commissions in the 1850s including the east window of Jesus College Chapel, Oxford, and the west window of Norwich Cathedral.[36] The style of his work closely matches windows by David Evans, and his six main scenes at Norwich are subject to the same awkward divisions of figures by the window mullions across three lights that mar David Evans' *Adoration of the Magi* at the Church of St Mary,

[30] See for example J. Allen, *Windows for the World: Nineteenth-century Stained Glass and the International Exhibitions, 1851–1900*, Manchester, 2018, pp. 90–92.

[31] *The Ecclesiologist*, 12, 1851, p. 184.

[32] J. Allen, *Windows for the World*, p. 46 (as in note 30).

[33] C. Winston, *An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, Especially in England, with Hints on Glass Painting*, London, 1847.

[34] Ibidem, p. 268. The windows from Herkenrode were restored and installed by John Betton in the first decade of the nineteenth century, around the time that David Evans had joined him as an apprentice, and the style of these windows must have been influential on him.

[35] *The Ecclesiologist*, 10, 1849, p. 93. In diverging from the ecclesiological position, Jim Cheshire has suggested that Winston may have sought to be deliberately provocative, *Stained Glass*, p. 18 (as in note 22).

[36] For the mixed reaction to the west window of Norwich Cathedral, see A.C. Sewter, 'The Place of Charles Winston in the Victorian Revival of the Art of Stained Glass', *Journal of Stained Glass*, 24, 1961, p. 86.
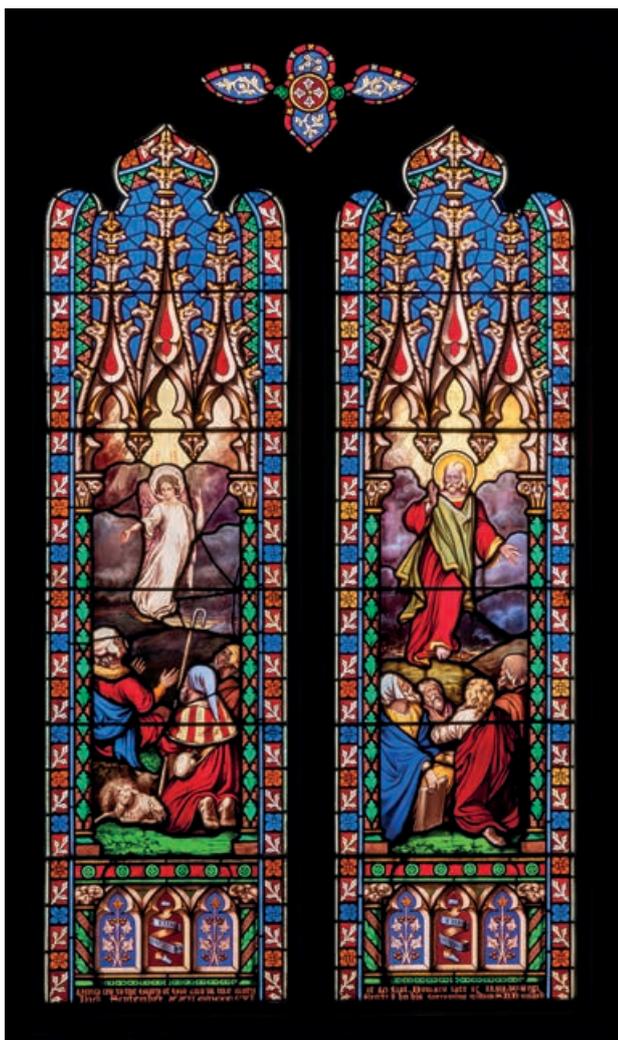
11. Ballantine & Allan, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* and *Ascension*, c. 1856, Northop (Flintshire), Church of St Eurgain and St Peter, north aisle. Photo: M. Crampin

Shrewsbury. The theatrical and faintly Rubens-esque artificiality of some of their figures and scenes is paralleled in windows by contemporary firms such as Ballantine & Allan, Forrest & Bromley, William Holland and John Toms, but by the 1850s most figures and scenes were safely contained within colourful elaborate Gothic canopies. Sometimes these canopies were treated in a three-dimensional manner utterly alien to that of Pugin, and occasionally the borders were more Renaissance than Gothic, an indicator of the influence of sixteenth- or even seventeenth-century models, but the inclusion of some kind of Gothic canopy or geometric or floral ornament was suggestive of a token Gothicism.

A reluctance to embrace the 'Cinquecento' style was partly due to its association with the stained glass that had been made immediately preceding the Reformation in England. Although Tractarians had sought to recover elements of an English Catholic past, it was a past rooted safely in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prior to what was regarded as the excesses of the Catholic Church

that necessitated the Reformation. An entrenched suspicion of and some hostility to the Roman Catholic Church remained among many Anglicans, who were conscious of A.W.N. Pugin's conversion as well as that of the leading Anglican Tractarian, John Henry Newman, who was received into the Roman Catholic Church and ordained a priest in 1845. As John Hardman was also a Roman Catholic, this limited the appeal of his firm to Anglican patrons who were not well disposed towards the Oxford Movement, whereas the firm was a natural choice for High Church Tractarians. Even these allegiances were tested in the wake of the anti-Catholic protests in 1851, with the result that the firm of the Irishman Michael O'Connor, who was also a Catholic, and that of John Hardman, lost out on the commission for the memorial window for Queen Adelaide at Worcester Cathedral.[37] In contrast, Hardman's were naturally favoured by Roman Catholic patrons, who were increasingly commissioning stained glass for their new churches in the wake of the renewed confidence resulting from Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1850. These windows were frequently characterised by the same preferences for medieval design that influenced stained glass in Anglican churches, although there was a slightly increased tendency to import stained glass from the continent, which resulted in a slightly broader range of styles.

Continental makers occasionally gained high profile commissions in Britain in the 1850s, such as the windows made by Henri and Alfred Gérente for Ely Cathedral. Their flat Romanesque style was in complete contrast to the set of windows made by Max Ainmiller of the Royal Bavarian Stained Glass Manufactory (Königliche Glasmalerei-Anstalt), Munich, for Peterhouse College, Cambridge, in 1855, executed in a virtuoso painterly 'pictorial' style. The same firm was commissioned to make a series of windows at Glasgow Cathedral, which were undertaken with the close involvement of Charles Winston. In private correspondence Winston described Henri Gérente as merely 'an *injurious imitator*' of old glass' and not an artist,[38] whereas he ranked the Munich artists as superior to any of the glass painters in England, Scotland or France at the time. Their use of decorated borders and the avoidance of excessive enamel paint accorded with the instructions of Winston, although the choice of a foreign maker and their style attracted considerable controversy.[39] While

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[37] The commission passed to the safely Protestant local architect Frederick Preedy, whose design was painted by George Rogers and installed in 1853. See M. KERNEY, *The Stained Glass of Frederick Preedy (1820–1898): A Catalogue of Designs*, London, 2001, p. 8.

[38] Quoted in J. CHESHIRE, *Stained Glass*, p. 49 (as in note 22).

[39] A.C. SEWTER, 'The Place of Charles Winston', pp. 86–90 (as in note 36). By contrast, Charles Winston had previously criticised the work of the 'Munich school' for their use of the 'Mosaic Enamel system', and their reduction of the brilliancy of modern glass through the coating with white enamel, C. WINSTON, *An Inquiry*, p. 256 (as in note 33).

it was difficult not to admire the exquisite glass painting, critics felt that their design did not suit the medieval architecture of the cathedral. Writing in the *Glasgow Herald* in reply to a letter by Winston, the art historian Professor Thomas Donaldson praised the windows at Peterhouse College Chapel, but described the 'revolting' contrast of the new windows with the architecture of Glasgow Cathedral. 'The Bavarians', he writes, 'have refined artists, *of a certain school*, and accomplished draughtsmen, but they do *not* understand Gothic architecture'.[40]

The medieval or Gothic Revival design of most churches helped to ensure that most ecclesiastical stained glass continued along a medievalist trajectory into the second half of the nineteenth century, and a Gothic sensibility remained entrenched among many practitioners of the medium in Britain for another hundred years. This Gothic character developed and diversified, but the arguments over style in the 1840s and 50s set the tone for the majority of stained glass windows commissioned for churches into the 1870s, when designers began to soften the bright colour palette and move away from the predominance of Romanesque, Early English and Decorated stained glass towards a variety of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century styles. The reluctance to design scenes across the window lights became more relaxed and even William Wailes, who had tailored their work to suit ecclesiological patrons since the 1840s, arranged twelve scenes in four tiers across the nine-light west window at Gloucester Cathedral in 1859.

Alongside the leading firms supplying stained glass for churches, new designers entered the market during the 1850s and 60s, forming partnerships and setting up their own studios. The majority of these new firms, such as Lavers & Barraud, Clayton & Bell and Heaton, Butler & Bayne, largely conformed to the prevailing preferences for ecclesiastical stained glass established in the late 1840s, adopting aspects of the design and details of the earlier medieval styles, while injecting their own artistic innovations, demonstrating better draughtsmanship and a more varied use of colour. These windows effectively use the lead lines to define the design of the window, enhanced with minimal painted detail, and demonstrate a more original approach to iconography and colouration which was applauded by ecclesiological patrons.[41] Neither was it counter to the path set out by A.W.N. Pugin, whose 'efforts were directed not towards the reproduction of copies of medieval windows but the creation of original works on the basis of the old principles'.[42] Clayton & Bell produced well-proportioned windows with scenes and figures that appear at ease under their Gothic canopies. Their east window at Llandinam, Powys, of about 1865, may be to the general design of the architect of the restoration of the church, G.E. Street, and consists of scenes of the *Crucifixion* and the *Last Supper,* arranged across the three lights of
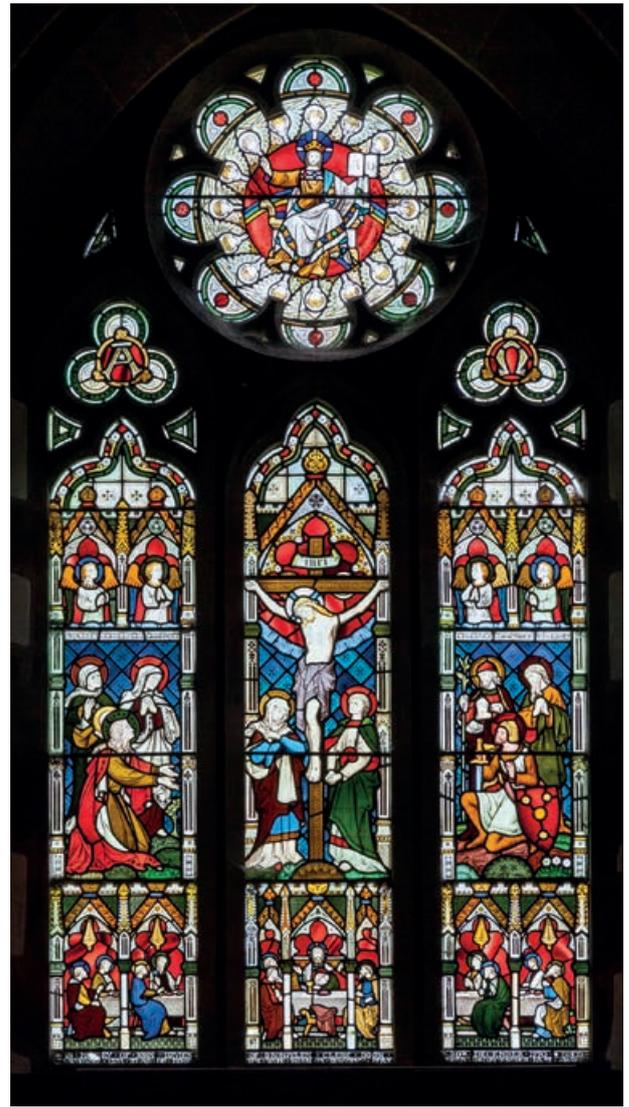
12. Clayton & Bell, *The Crucifixion* and *Last Supper*, c. 1865, Llandinam (Powys), Church of St Llonio, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

the window, but compartmentalises the groups of figures neatly within the window lights, with a fine *Christ in Majesty* in a roundel above [Fig. 12].

John Richard Clayton made use of medieval exemplars, studying illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum and making drawings of medieval stained glass, and his use of medieval conventions can be seen in his designs of common subjects from the Gospels.[43] In this respect he mirrored the growing respect for fifteenth-century Renaissance art that partly defined the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, founded in 1848, and was characteristic of a wider group of artists in the 1850s who were sympathetic to medievalist impulses in art and literature, a few of whom became celebrated designers of stained glass. Nonetheless, manufacturers of stained glass continued to draw on images by a range of artists that became available in volumes

[40] *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 November 1860, p. 3.

[41] See W. Waters, *Angels & Icons*, pp. 80, 120 (as in note 24).

[42] S.A. Shepherd, 'Stained Glass', p. 195 (as in note 9).

[43] W. Waters, *Angels & Icons*, pp. 51, 55 (as in note 24).

13. F. Comère & J. Capronnier, *Christ with Disciples on the Road to Emmaus*, 1894, Great Snaith (Yorkshire), Church of St Lawrence. Photo: M. Crampin

illustrating religious art from the middle of the nineteenth century. The figure of Christ from Raphael's *Transfiguration*, used by David Evans in the 1840s, remained popular, as was Raphael's Virgin and Child from the *Madonna di San Sisto*, although these figures were usually surrounded by Gothic ornament. By contrast, other designers such as John Hardman Powell demonstrated a more authentic affinity with medieval religious visual culture, such as his adoption of the sinuous figures of fourteenth-century stained glass, and the use of specific examples of medieval iconography such as the lily crucifixion, which was associated with scenes of the *Annunciation*.[44]

Despite this diversity, there was no return to the eighteenth-century pictorial style for ecclesiastical stained glass and there is little evidence of its use for secular work in Britain either, and work similar to that of the Munich makers at Peterhouse and Glasgow was anomalous. One such exception was the set of windows commissioned in 1870 for St Paul's Cathedral in London, a cathedral

conspicuous for it classicism. The windows were designed in a pictorial style by the German painter Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, but met with criticism in the *Art Journal*, and compared unfavourably with a stained glass window designed by Ward & Hughes for the Guildhall in London, commemorating the late Prince Albert. This was commended 'as an actual specimen of true mosaic-glass', not 'the art of the enameller on glass as a ground, but a fine and honest example of what has been appropriately called window-jewellery'.[45] By contrast, the execution of the windows at St Paul's was judged to be 'admirable', but the method was 'radically faulty and unsound', as well as being 'surrounded by the representation of a gilt picture-frame … with church-yard cherubs below'. The contrast of the 'honest' mosaic method with the 'unsound' enamelled approach to glass painting accords with the approval of medieval stained glass and its methods on moral grounds, in accordance with the arguments of A.W.N. Pugin and the ecclesiologists in the 1840s. These preferences were reflected in the output of stained glass studios across Britain. Jasmine Allen has suggested that about a quarter of the stained glass exhibits at the Great Exhibition in 1851 were 'pictorial' in style, whereas at the International Exhibition of 1862 this style was almost completely absent among British exhibits, in contrast to continental exhibitors who continued to use the more painterly enamelled technique.[46] A number of continental makers continued to make stained glass for churches in Britain, notably Jean-Baptiste Capronnier of Brussels and the Munich firm of Mayer & Co. (Mayer'sche Hofkunstanstalt). Mayer's opened an office in London, their work usually Gothic Revival in character, and closer to the work of Hardman's and Ward & Hughes than to that of Max Ainmiller, while Capronnier employed Gothic canopies that were sometimes large and ornate, and sometimes a token gesture to Gothicism over thoroughly pictorial scenes [Fig. 13].

The vibrant work of Clayton & Bell in the 1860s gradually gave way to a darker and subtler palette for scenes and figures from the 1870s, and an increased tendency to replace the sturdy fourteenth-century Gothic canopies with more elaborate white glass ones, heightened with silver stain. A greater use of white glass can be seen in the work of Burlison & Grylls, established in 1868 by former employees at Clayton & Bell, and in the work of Charles Eamer Kempe, who had also worked with Clayton & Bell. John Burlison and Thomas Grylls established their firm at the instigation of the architects G.F. Bodley and Thomas Garner, after they became dissatisfied with the work of William Morris' firm, who had made windows in the 1860s for Bodley at the Church of St Michael, Brighton, the Church of All Saints, Cambridge, and the Church of St Martin, Scarborough. Bodley maintained his regard for Clayton & Bell's work into the later 1860s, but favoured the work of Burlison & Grylls and their 'carefully

[44] M. SHEPHEARD, 'The Stained Glass of John Hardman and Company under the leadership of John Hardman Powell from 1867 to 1895', PhD diss., Birmingham City University, 2007, pp. 47–48 [http://www.powys-lannion.net/Shepheard/Hardman.htm; retrieved 19 October 2019].

[45] *The Art Journal*, 1 December 1870, p. 375.

[46] J. ALLEN, *Windows for the World*, p. 88 (as in note 30).

controlled harmonies of subtle yellowy-greens, browns, blues, deep ruby, grisaille and gold, with extensive use of white glass'.[47] Their colours, and use of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century styles, in combination with Thomas Grylls' delicate draughtsmanship, remained a feature of most of their work for a further fifty years, their colours brightening a little in the 1920s until the eventual closure of the firm in 1953. Together with the work of Kempe, this style was influential on many successive makers both in the later nineteenth century and into the 1930s, perpetuated by former employees and associates of both firms following their establishment of new studios [Fig. 14].

Bodley's transition away from early collaborations with Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. to work with Burlison & Grylls suggests that the early work of Morris and his circle was not as far removed from Gothic Revival stained glass as has sometimes been assumed. William Morris was an early exponent of the softer palette that soon became typical of the work of Burlison & Grylls, and the work of both firms contrasts with the contemporary work by Clayton & Bell and Heaton, Butler & Bayne in the mid-1860s in their delicacy and greater use of white glass, either as Gothic surrounds or imitations of medieval quarry patterns. The shift to a subtler colouration was not welcomed by all architects, and following his argument with Morris in the *Ecclesiastical Art Review* in 1878, the architect J.P. Seddon, referred disparagingly to their 'mud colours'.[48] Working with John Pritchard, Seddon had commissioned artworks from Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. and other Pre-Raphaelites for Llandaff Cathedral in the 1860s and 70s, and by the 1880s Seddon showed a preference for the more colourful stained glass made by S. Belham & Co, and designed by H.A. Kennedy. Similarly, the architect William Burges demonstrated a preference for strong colour, although with the predominant use of white or pale grounds, in the stained glass that was made for him by Saunders & Co.

William Morris and Edward Jones, later Burne-Jones, who became close friends while studying at Oxford, were fascinated by the Middle Ages and their interest in medieval stained glass was instinctive, but the stained glass designed for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. is less imitative of medieval art than that of many contemporary stained glass firms making work for churches. After the firm was reorganised as Morris & Co. in 1875, Burne-Jones designed nearly all of the firm's stained glass, at a time when his interest in Italian Renaissance artists such as Mantegna and Michelangelo had been stimulated
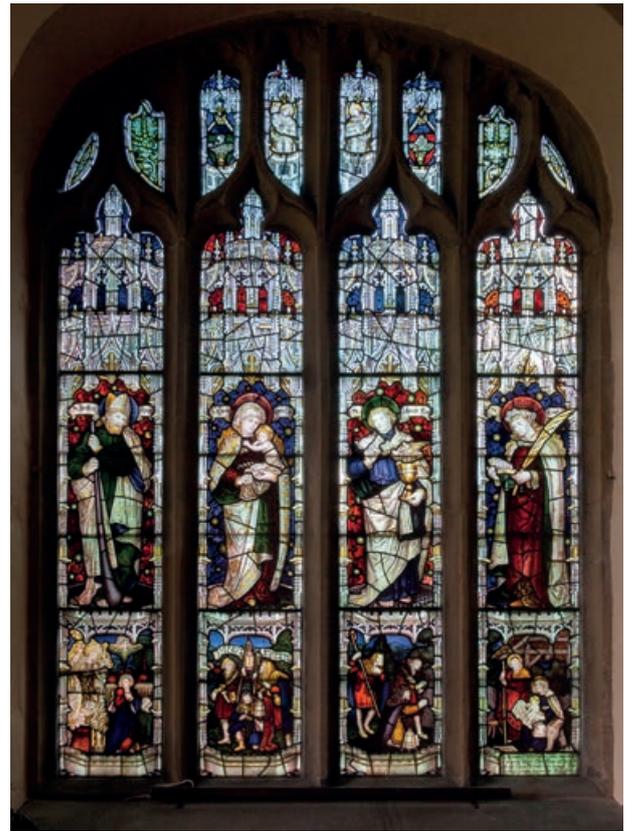
14. C.E. Kempe, *Virgin and Child with St James, St John and St Wine-fride*, 1890, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (Denbighshire), Church of St Cynfarch and St Mary, south wall. Photo: M. Crampin

following his third visit to Italy.[49] The increased aestheticism in Burne-Jones' designs for Morris & Co. was suggestive of a new direction away from the Gothic Revival, shared by others in his circle that designed stained glass, such as Henry Holiday and H.E. Wooldridge, J.W. Brown and G.E. Cook as well as the Scottish artist Daniel Cottier.[50] The designs of these artists often excluded the usual architectural canopies or geometric borders, or when borders were required, opted for a more generic kind of ornament that was not suggestive of medieval character.

An intentional rejection of the Gothic Revival influence on stained glass was voiced by Henry Holiday, a former pupil and friend of Burne-Jones. He allied the Gothic Revival with the stained glass 'trade', which he saw in

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[47] M. Hall, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America*, New Haven and London, 2014, p. 158. Bodley's use of stained glass in his churches in the 1860s, his relationship with Kempe, and the establishment of Burlison & Grylls are discussed on pp. 44–47, 63–65, 141–143, 157–159.

[48] P. Cormack, *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*, New Haven and London, 2015, pp. 20–21.

[49] For the reconstitution of Morris' firm see F. MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*, London, 1994, pp. 341–347; for Burne-Jones' third visit to Italy, see F. MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: Edward Burne-Jones and the Victorian Imagination*, London, 2011, pp. 225–236.

[50] Henry Holiday's influence also extended to a number of stained glass firms that he collaborated with, notably Heaton, Butler & Bayne, James Powell & Sons and Saunders & Co., as well as Shrigley & Hunt, whose chief designer Carl Almquist, trained with Holiday. W. Waters, *Damozels and Deities: Pre-Raphaelite Stained Glass 1870–1898*, Abbots Morton, 2017, pp. 168–335.
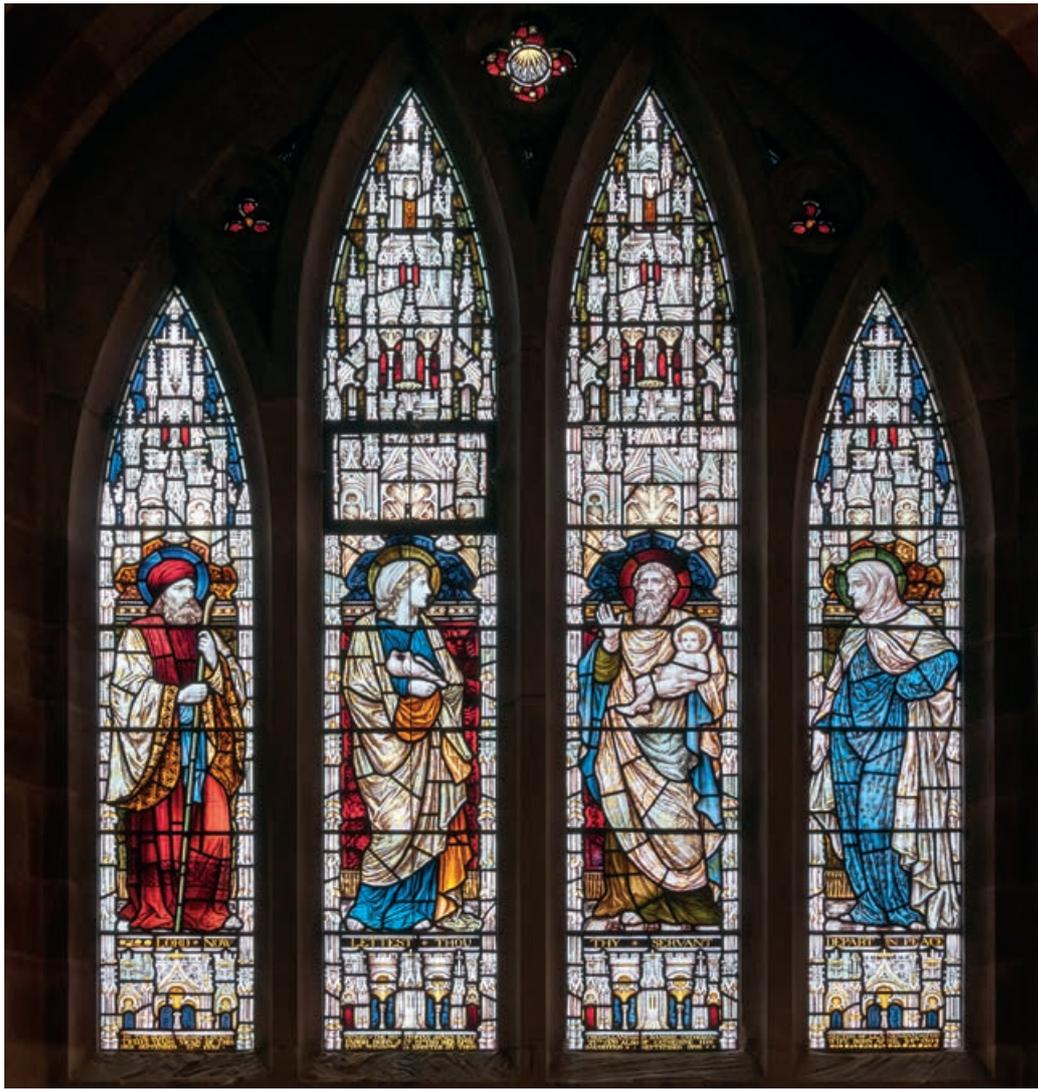
15. James Powell & Sons, designed by Henry Holiday, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 1890, Pwllheli (Gwynedd), Church of St Peter, south aisle. Photo: M. Crampin

opposition to the practice of 'art', and sought to reintroduce a more natural painterly character to stained glass in place of the two-dimensional and imitative Gothic Revival stained glass that had been in the ascendant since the 1850s.[51] Powell's maintained an output that has become well known for its Pre-Raphaelite and aesthetic tendencies, although many of their windows also made use of the kind of elaborate Gothic architectural canopies common to the work of Clayton & Bell and C.E. Kempe. The pressures of trade saw cartoons by Holiday and others reused by Powell's in new contexts, and aesthetic figures by Holiday were placed under Gothic canopies in later uses of his original cartoons, effectively reabsorbing Holiday's work into the Gothic mainstream [Fig. 15].

Similarly, firms such as Clayton & Bell and Burlison & Grylls, which were founded on Gothic principles, had sufficiently diversified by the 1880s to make windows redolent of aesthetic influence, particularly female figures representing the three virtues Faith, Hope and Charity. A window by Burlison & Grylls at Llangattock, Powys, even makes use of the three principal figures from Joshua Reynolds' designs executed by Thomas Jervais for New College, Oxford [Fig. 16].[52] The celebrity of the figures, which prompted their reuse, and the firm's willingness to make copies of Reynolds' figures, suggests that the controversies over the use of Georgian or Baroque models were no longer a barrier to engaging with a range of art historical periods. The figures are nonetheless absorbed into

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[51] P. Cormack, *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*, pp. 11–12 (as in note 48).

[52] A further use of the figures in 1889 is illustrated, but unattributed, in L. Lee, G. Seddon and F. Stephens, *Stained Glass*, London, new edition 1989, p. 150. The window is probably the work of T.F. Curtis, Ward & Hughes. Lavers & Westlake used the figures within Gothic canopies in a window at Morwenstow, Cornwall, c. 1900.

16. Burlison & Grylls, *Faith, Hope & Charity*, c. 1886, Llangattock (Powys), Church of St Catwg, chancel. Photo: M. Crampin

the late Gothic idiom of the firm's work, and placed within medieval white glass and silver stained architectural niches, while the castellated towers of the background are typical of sixteenth-century Flemish and German stained glass. As a firm that had epitomised ecclesiological taste in the 1850s, John Hardman & Co. also demonstrated diversity in their work as the century wore on under the direction of its chief designer and son-in-law of A.W.N. Pugin, John Hardman Powell. In windows such as their transept window of 1884, the scenes from the Life of St Gregory at the Church of St Gregory, Cheltenham, are released from the constraints of the vertical window lights with the four large roundels each divided in half across the four lights.

The majority of stained glass made for churches in Britain from the mid-nineteenth century was usually subject to the various styles of medieval architecture adopted for new and restored churches. The nineteenth-century restoration of medieval churches and the provision of many new Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, particularly in urban areas, was nearly all undertaken by Gothic Revival architects. This proved a great stimulus to stained glass production, but the windows that would be filled, either at the time that the churches were built or restored, or in the succeeding decades, were largely Gothic. This

determined and perpetuated a Gothic character for the majority of windows made for these churches well into the twentieth century.

Architectural historians have written of a Gothic 'survival' perceptible in the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries,[53] and similarly an overwhelming Gothic Revival 'survival' can be seen in twentieth-century ecclesiastical British architecture. The work of G.F. Bodley was arguably responsible for defining the Gothic Revival character of the Anglican Church in England for at least a century,[54] continued and developed in the churches designed or altered by architects such as Giles Gilbert Scott, Ninian Comper and Stephen Dykes Bower. In twentieth-century church furnishings, this Gothic Revival 'survival' is much more pronounced, and can be seen in the erection of rood screens with imitations of late medieval carvings, the filling of empty niches with carved figures, and particularly in stained glass.[55] This vast quantity of late Gothic Revival

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[53] M. Aldrich, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 35–38 (as in note 10).

[54] M. Hall, *George Frederick Bodley*, p. 3 (as in note 47).

[55] Ecclesiastical architecture is rarely included in discussions of the survival of Gothic Revival, with the emphasis usually placed on the interactions between Gothicism and Modernism, see for

17. Geoffrey Webb, *The Parable of the Good Samaritan*, 1936, Llan-gynnwr (Carmarthenshire), Church of St Ceinwr, west window. Photo: M. Crampin

18. Daniells & Fricker, *Soldier Receiving the Crown of Life with St Michael, St George and St Nicholas*, 1920, Aberavon (Glamorgan), Church of St Mary, west window. Photo: M. Crampin

stained glass has often been overlooked by stained glass historians in favour of the contemporary innovations and visual appeal of Arts & Crafts stained glass. Inevitably it became increasingly dated and conservative, with mini-mal reinvention of the format, but fine glass painting and excellent craftsmanship were recurrent features of work by a multitude of designers and studios such as Edward Frampton, A.L. and C.E. Moore, Robert Newbery, Dan-iells & Fricker, Horace Wilkinson [Fig. 20], John Jennings, Christopher Powell, Herbert Bryans and Geoffrey Webb [Fig. 17], in addition to the large Victorian firms that con-tinued to make work into and beyond the 1920s. Many First World War memorials are redolent of the imagery of medieval chivalry, with servicemen shown receiving the Crown of Life in medieval armour [Fig. 18], or in the company of military saints St George and St Martin. Many war memorial windows were given to churches as private

memorials by gentry families, and Mark Girouard has ob-served that 'such symbols of chivalry seem a little pathetic […] [as] the values for which they stood were beginning to crumble round them'.[56]

Aspects of medievalism continued to guide stained glass designers who forsook Gothic canopies and medi-eval pictorial convention, whether through their admira-tion for particular medieval exemplars or through their perception of medieval practice and the place of art and craft in medieval society. This was rooted in the medieval-ism of John Ruskin and William Morris and, following the formation of the Art Workers' Guild in 1884 and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1887, became embedded in the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Art-ists such as Christopher Whall, who was elected to the Art Workers' Guild in 1889, and those that he trained and in-spired sought to evoke the qualities of medieval stained

example M.J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, London, 2002, pp. 185–196.

[56] M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 292.

19. Christopher Whall, Gloucester Cathedral, Lady Chapel windows, 1898–1902. Photo: M. Crampin

glass, creating meaningful references to the past without trying to imitate it. C.R. Ashbee sensed 'the tenderness, the humour, the sympathy of the Middle Ages' in the designs by Christopher Whall for the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral,[57] and the space around his figures was filled with organic decorative frameworks in place of Gothic canopies, performing the same necessary function of relating figures in stained glass to their architectural environment [Fig. 19].[58] His influences, alongside Edward Burne-Jones and G.F. Watts, were also some of the fifteenth-century Italian masters that had inspired young English artists of the 1840s and 50s to look back to painting before the time of Raphael.

Other artists who shared the ethos of the Arts and Crafts Movement continued to work in recognisably Gothic styles. The architect Frederick Eden had trained with G.F. Bodley in 1889–1890, and began to make his own stained glass from 1910, in a style similar to that of Burlison & Grylls, but his Gothic Revival convictions did not deter him from joining the Art Workers' Guild in 1915. Another architect, W.D. Caröe, was elected to the Art Workers' Guild in 1889, and his work remained thoroughly late Gothic in style, often employing artists to make stained glass in a fifteenth-century English style, such as Horace Wilkinson.

A further coming together of old and new traditions was manifested in the formation of the British Society of Master Glass Painters in 1921, whose early members included proprietors and past and present designers of the larger stained glass firms, as well as artists who were more closely associated with the Arts & Crafts Movement, such as Paul Woodroffe and H. Gustave Hiller. Their common interest in medieval stained glass is clear in the articles published from 1924 in the *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, while some writers were critical of the 'horrible, meaningless stuff' that characterised Gothic Revival glass of the mid-nineteenth century.[59] Some years later, when bombs rained on British cities in 1940–1941, the *Journal* observed that 'glass, painted in the last century, has gone. No one can regret the disappearance of some of it'.[60]

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[57] P. Cormack, *Arts and Crafts Stained Glass*, p. 157 (as in note 48).

[58] Ibidem, p. 164.

[59] W. Morris, 'The Suitability of Stained Glass as a Means of Decoration in Churches', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 6, 1935, no. 1, p. 30. The writer, William Morris, was unconnected with the more famous Victorian artist, poet and socialist.

[60] *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 8, 1941, no. 3, p. 88.

20. Horace Wilkinson, *The Crucifixion with Saints*, c. 1916, Llangammarch Wells (Powys), Church of St Cadmarch, east window. Photo: M. Crampin

Alongside the continuing production of Gothic Revival stained glass by firms such as C.E. Kempe & Co. and Burlison & Grylls in the 1920s and 30s, medieval stained glass exerted a much more nuanced influence on some of the most original artists making stained glass in Britain, such as Karl Parsons, Douglas Strachan, Richard Stubington and Wilhelmina Geddes. Geddes, for example, demonstrated a medievalism that was as deeply rooted as her modernism, drawing on influences that included the stained glass and Romanesque sculpture from Chartres Cathedral, medieval stained glass at York, and Classical sculpture and aspects of Byzantine and Renaissance art, in combination with an interest in the work of some of her contemporaries.[61]

The reverence for medieval glass has continued to be shared by nearly all artists working with stained glass, and the recognition that stained glass, especially for churches, inevitably embodies an intrinsic connection to the medieval past that deserved to be understood and respected. Discussing the 'Art of Stained Glass' in the 1930s, a booklet by James Powell & Sons cites the 'decadent materialism of the Renaissance, a period of luxury and extravagance' as the cause of the decline of stained glass from the fifteenth century, and the 'materialist' use of 'chiaroscuro and perspective'. Following advances in the nineteenth century, Powell's could boast that 'the finest tradition of Stained Glass has been truly rediscovered and is once more a living Art that can compare with the finest medieval work'.[62] For Powell's, the tradition of medieval stained glass was a crucial source of inspiration for stained glass artists, and for many it still is.

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[61] N. Gordon Bowe, *Wilhelmina Geddes: Life and Work*, Dublin, 2015, pp. 2–4, 48.

[62] J. Powell & Sons, *The Art of Stained Glass*, promotional booklet, c. 1935, pp. 2–4.

SUMMARY

Martin Crampin
THE GOTHIC REVIVAL CHARACTER OF ECCLESI-
ASTICAL STAINED GLASS IN BRITAIN

Keywords: stained glass, Gothic Revival, medievalism,
churches

Stained glass was transformed from a Georgian curiosity
at the beginning of the nineteenth century into an essen-
tial component of church architecture by the middle years
of the century, effecting a transition from the practice of
painting in enamels on rectangular sheets of glass to the
adoption of the medieval mosaic method. Its rise in popu-
larity was closely intertwined with the Gothic Revival, as
architects sought to recreate and reinvent medieval church
interiors enriched by imagery and colour.

The changing styles and forms of art and architecture
from the Romanesque, in the eleventh century, to the Per-
pendicular of the sixteenth century, were adopted and
sometimes combined, just as larger medieval churches of-
ten accumulated architectural features from different pe-
riods. The work of Thomas Rickman and Charles Win-
ston helped to classify and develop a chronology of me-
dieval architecture and of its stained glass, making a more
scholarly adaptation of medieval forms possible. The work
of David Evans is instructive as it demonstrates the selec-
tive adoption of Gothic elements for stained glass in the
second quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as the
refutation of the ecclesiological consensus on the superi-
ority of the earlier medieval styles in the 1850s.

Changing preferences for different medieval styles
for stained glass design is clearly discernible in the sec-
ond half of the nineteenth century, as the fashion for thir-
teenth- and fourteenth-century styles in the 1840s and
50s gave way to a preference for models more in keeping
with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century stained glass. De-
bates over the need to return to medieval methods and the
appropriateness of certain periods and styles marked the
1840s and 50s, but considerable variety and diversification
followed. Gothic Revival stained glass in the second half
of the nineteenth century included windows that were less
imitative of medieval styles and adopted Gothic ornament
in a rather superficial way, while other makers adopted a
more scholarly approach, producing more accurate repro-
ductions of medieval styles. Gothic elements of stained
glass design were not only a feature of nineteenth-century
stained glass, as medievalist tendencies continued to char-
acterise most stained glass made for churches well into the
twentieth century, and even when this was not the case, a
continued reverence for medieval stained glass permeated
those involved in making stained glass for churches long
after the end of what is now known as the period of the
Gothic Revival.

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'FROM THE PERIOD OF THE DEEPEST DECLINE OF GERMAN ECCLESIASTICAL ART' – SHOULD ARTISTIC QUALITY BECOME A CRITERION FOR AN INVENTORY OF STAINED GLASS?

When we deal with nineteenth-century stained glass as specialists, we are often filled with missionary zeal to sensitize society to an art genre that has long been neglected by art historians. But if one takes a closer look – for example – at the recently published volumes of the Prestel Art History, one might be inclined to throw in the towel.[1] The stained-glass windows from the Age of Romanticism and Historicism still find no admission into many survey works of art history. Are we, in the end, only social workers of art history who are trying to advocate the artistic merit of a species threatened with extinction, to put it somewhat hysterically? Do we want to ensure the survival of products that would otherwise have long been lost in the ecosystem of artistic evolution ? What if modern art historiography is right, and not everything that was produced at that time is worth preserving, because it has neither artistic, nor creative, nor unique qualities?

It is not that I doubt the fundamental purpose of an inventory, but it seems that qualitative criteria have taken a back seat in the judging of these works. The Königlich Bayerische Hofglasmalerei Franz Xaver Zettler made a total of 12,532 windows in the years between 1870 and 1910[2] [Figs 1, 2]. Considering that at that time there were hundreds of workshops operating in the German Empire alone, one can imagine the enormous number of works that literally flooded sacred buildings. Here we have to speak of mass production, which undoubtedly requires a rationalized production process. Would it be sacrilege to compare these products with the articles of the countless picture factories that emerged especially in the second half of the nineteenth century and contributed to an enormous popularization of the religious image?[3]

On the market for ecclesiastical mass production, glass paintings were traded in the same way as plaster figures, oil prints and devotional pictures, as well as goldsmith's and carpenter's work [Fig. 3]. The ecclesiastical stained glass developed a standardized style and a simple, recognizable pictorial language. From an artistic point of view these catalog products were fundamentally different from the workshops' considerable achievements at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Certainly there were still smaller studios with their technically and artistically more individual products, but they could not serve the mass market.[4] For a better understanding of the situation, let me trace the development from the stained-glass artwork to the mass product in five main steps.

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[1] *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, vol. 6: *Klassik und Romantik*, ed. by A. Beyer, Munich, 2006 and ibidem, vol. 7: *Vom Biedermeier zum Impressionismus*, ed. by H. Kohle, Munich, 2008.

[2] J.L. FISCHER, *40 Jahre Glasmalkunst, Festschrift der königlich-bayerischen Hofglasmalerei F. X. Zettler*, Munich, 1910, p. 103.

[3] W. BRÜCKNER, CH. PIESKE, *Die Bilderfabrik*, exh. cat., Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt am Main, 1973; review by S. METKEN, 'Trivialkunst aus der Chromopresse. Zur Wanderausstellung "Die Bilderfabrik"', *Kunstchronik*, 27, 1974, pp. 145–151.

[4] Even contemporaries commented critically on this development. The mass production of ecclesiastical art not only ruins the artistic talent of the employees, but also kills small handicraft enterprises, since the independent artists cannot compete with the cheaper-producing industry. The factory-based production of the Mayer'sche Kgl. Hofkunstanstalt in Munich is the target of an unnamed author in the *Organ für christliche Kunst*, 20, 1871, pp. 226s. Thanks to Elgin Vaassen for providing me with this reference.

1. Mayersche Hofkunstanstalt, *Christus am Ölberg*, Munich, 1888, Landsberg am Lech, Church of the Assumption of Mary. Photo: Wikimedia Commons, Reinhardhauke

STEP 1: THE REVIVAL OF CHRISTIAN ART AND THE SPIRIT OF IMITATION

One reason for this development was the art policy of the Catholic Church. Its ideological prerequisites are based on religious renewal after the fall of the Holy Roman Empire. The artistic collaborators, the Nazarenes, saw art as a means for moral education of man and society in the bosom of Christian faith. The Middle Ages were regarded as exemplary, as society was conceived to have been harmoniously united in faith at that time. In such a milieu, the artist, as inspired by faith, was able to create masterpieces in which – figuratively speaking – God himself guided the brush. Thus, Overbeck writes to Passavant 'Art must be spiritual, as the Christian himself should be a spiritual man and not a carnal, art must be chaste, holy, far from all lust, not profane and arrogant'.[5]

In her dissertation on the *The Nazarene Movement in the Context of the Catholic Restoration*, from 1992, Gudrun Jansen examined the political climate in Munich during the reign of King Ludwig I.[6] As an opponent of liberalism, Ludwig strengthened Catholicism and appointed Joseph Görres to the newly founded university. Jansen found that the social policy of Görres, characterized by Catholic-restorative spirit, played a decisive role for the close interplay between ideological and artistic goals [Fig. 4]. He held that as an 'organ of religion', art should contribute to the promotion of living piety in Christian society. Public opinion was influenced in this direction by the periodicals 'Eos' and the 'Historisch-politische Blätter'.

Heinrich Maria von Hess, who had joined the Nazarenes in Rome in 1821, eventually became the first director of an art institute in Munich, founded by King Ludwig I in 1827, to revive the art of making stained glass.[7] Here, the Nazarenes Friedrich Overbeck, Moritz von Schwind, and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld created designs for countless windows in stained glass in the following years, some of which still can be admired today in Regensburg and Cologne cathedrals. As the most important center of stained glass production, the Munich School was to set

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[5] Overbeck to Passavant, letter from 12th May 1827; quotes after the exhibition catalogue *Johann Friedrich Overbeck. 1789–1989. Zur zweihundertsten Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Museum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Behnhaus, Lübeck, 1989, p. 31.

[6] G. JANSEN, *Die Nazarenerbewegung in Kontext der katholischen Restauration. Die Beziehung Clemens Brentano – Edward von Steinle als Grundlage einer religionspädagogischen Kunstkonzeption*, Essen, 1992 (Kunstwissenschaft in der Blauen Eule, 8).

[7] E. VAASSEN, *Die kgl. Glasmalereianstalt in München 1827–1874. Geschichte – Werke – Künstler*, Munich and Berlin, 2013.

2. Mayersche Hofkunstanstalt, *Christus am Ölberg*, Munich, c. 1887, Landshut, St Judoc's Church. Photo: Wikimedia Commons, G. Freihalter

the direction for decades. From Munich the studios delivered their products throughout Germany and beyond, thereby spreading the Nazarene style of the 'Königliche Glasmalereianstalt'.

It would certainly be wrong to attribute the revival of glass painting in Germany solely to the reactionary aims of the Catholic Church. German enthusiasm for their own cultural heritage first arose from a national movement which was a result of the Napoleonic wars of liberation and extended across broad layers of society. However, stained glass was of particular importance for the ecclesiastical movement because, more than any other genre, it was deeply rooted in the medieval religious context. Furthermore, it was exclusively associated with sacred art, and the images served to glorify the faith. After all, the contemplative effect of luminous colors almost perfectly corresponded to the romantic attitude. As rediscoverers of colour, the Romantics were diametrically opposed to the classicists. The Nazarenes resorted to bright color effects; they even designed their pictures more often like stained glass with intentionally glowing colors. So it is easy to understand why glass painting played such an enormous role in the Catholic movement.

In cooperation with the social and political aims of the Church, the Nazarenes promoted their childlike works as means to spread the 'only true Catholic doctrine' and even declared religious functionalization to be the actual goal. The result was an ideologically more and more overloaded 'Programmkunst' [Fig. 5]. They deliberately renounced the sensual qualities of appearance in favor of a pious effect. The painting should not seduce, but preach. This already refers to those qualities for which their products

3. *Mount of Olives* in different sizes from 70 to 130 fl. in *Katalog für Statüen aus Steinmassa. Mayer'sche kgl. privileg. Kunstanstalt plastischer Arbeiten am Stiegelmeierplatz No. 1 in München*, Munich, c. 1870, plate 11. Photo: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Bavar. 5195 h

STEP 2: POPULARIZATION
OF THE RELIGIOUS IMAGE AS A MEANS
OF CHRISTIAN PROPAGANDA

It was entirely within the missionary intentions of the Nazarenes and their affiliated church to reach the broad masses of the people with their art. Joanna Lubos-Kozieł, in her contribution on the development of the market for church mass production in the nineteenth century, which was published in 2007, pointed out that the mass production of ecclesiastical works of art was a direct result of the program of Christian art developed by the Nazarenes.[8]

This concept of popularization was all the more gratifying to the Church when, after the loss of its Papal States, the Pope sought ways of regaining influence in the Catholic world [Fig. 6]: Pius IX, who continued to regard himself as the head of Christendom, opposed those in his eyes condemnable democratic and liberal developments of the modern states and practiced a strongly restorative policy. Recatholization now began on a broad scale and was reflected among other things in the active support of popular piety ('Volksfrömmigkeit'), for example through the promotion of pilgrimages [Fig. 7] through indulgences, through the founding of Christian associations, through support of an ecclesiastical publishing industry, and not least through the creation of rich decoration in churches.[9] By these means the Church succeeded in winning the masses for its anti-modernist attitude. It is well known that these conflicts culminated in the 'Kulturkampf'.

Printmaking, with its new technical possibilities, became the main instrument of effective influence, in order to reach the lower classes especially.[10] Numerous lithographic institutions were established, specializing in the serial production of pictures with an iconography that was easy to understand.[11] A central institution was the 'Verein zur Verbreitung religiöser Bilder' ('Association for the dissemination of religious images') in Düsseldorf, which had been founded in 1841 under the patronage of the later bishop of Cologne, Johannes Geissel [Fig. 8]. His main task was to 'spread religious images of established older and newer artists through the steel engraving in all

4. Kgl. Glasmalereianstalt Munich, Görres memorial window, 1856, Cologne cathedral. Detail showing Joseph Görres (1776–1848) in adoration of St. Mary. Photo: Wikimedia Commons, WDWensky

were criticized by contemporaries, starting with Goethe and Brentano, and which today are commonly associated with the term 'Nazarene': the works are deemed to be bloodless, sentimental and hypocritical.

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[8] J. Lubos-Kozieł, "'[…] zu den billigsten Preisen unter Garantie solider edler Ausführung". Die Entwicklung des Marktes für kirchliche künstlerische Massenproduktion im 19. Jahrhundert', in *Kanonisierung, Regelverstoß und Pluralität in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by E. Kepetzis, S. Lieb, S. Grohé, Frankfurt am Main, 2005, pp. 183–193. Thanks to Elgin Vaassen for providing me with this reference.

[9] V. Seifert, *Pius IX. – der Immaculata-Papst: Von der Marienverehrung Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferrettis zur Definierung des Immaculata-Dogmas*, Göttingen, 2013.

[10] W. Faulstich, *Medienwandel im Industrie- und Massenzeitalter, 1830–1900*, Göttingen, 2004.

[11] S. Metken, 'Nazarener und "nazarenisch". Popularisierung und Trivialisierung eines Kunstideals', in *Die Nazarener*, exh. cat., Frankfurt, Städel, Frankfurt am Main, 1977, pp. 365–388.

5. Johann Friedrich Overbeck, *The Triumph of the Religion* (*The Magnificat of Art*), 1829–1840. Photo: Städel Museum, U. Edelmann – ARTO-THEK

classes of the audience'. Even Pope Pius IX wrote admiringly to the association:

> We have seen with joy, how years ago several Catholic men made the very pious decision to engrave sacred images created by famous painters and disseminate them at extremely cheap prices, and thereby to encourage the Christian population to piety, fear of God and virtue.[12]

In the first 25 years of its existence, the association sold seven million pictures. In the propagandistic purpose of religious images, one will have to see the decisive step towards the popularization and trivialization of Nazarene art, the consequences of which we still feel today [Fig. 9]. The flood of religious images also had to have consequences for the production of stained glass, because the studios, which sprouted like mushrooms from the middle of the century, were eagerly looking for templates [Figs 10, 11].[13]

[12] R. GIERSE, 'Das kleine Andachtsbild und der Verein zur Verbreitung religiöser Bilder in Düsseldorf', in *Religiöse Graphik aus der Zeit des Kölner Dombaus 1842–1880*, ed. by Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Cologne, Cologne, 1980, pp. 21–28, here p. 26

[13] On this also see V. CHIEFFO RAGUIN, *The History of Stained Glass. The Art of Light Medieval to Contemporary*, London, 2003, pp. 26–30.

6. 'Sanct Peter Schlemihl. Das Patrimonium Petri gehört zu dem Papstthum wie der Schatten zum Körper', *Kladderadatsch*, 26, 1873, p. 180. Political caricature on the loss of the Papal States. Photo: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Per. 13–24

7. "s gibt kein schöner Leben als das Pilgerleben', *Kladderadatsch*, 24, 1871, p. 184. Political caricature on the boom in pilgrimages. Photo: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

8. *Sacred Heart*, oleography with gold applications in a die-cut paper frame, late 19th century, still available. Photo: www.sanctum-rosarium.de
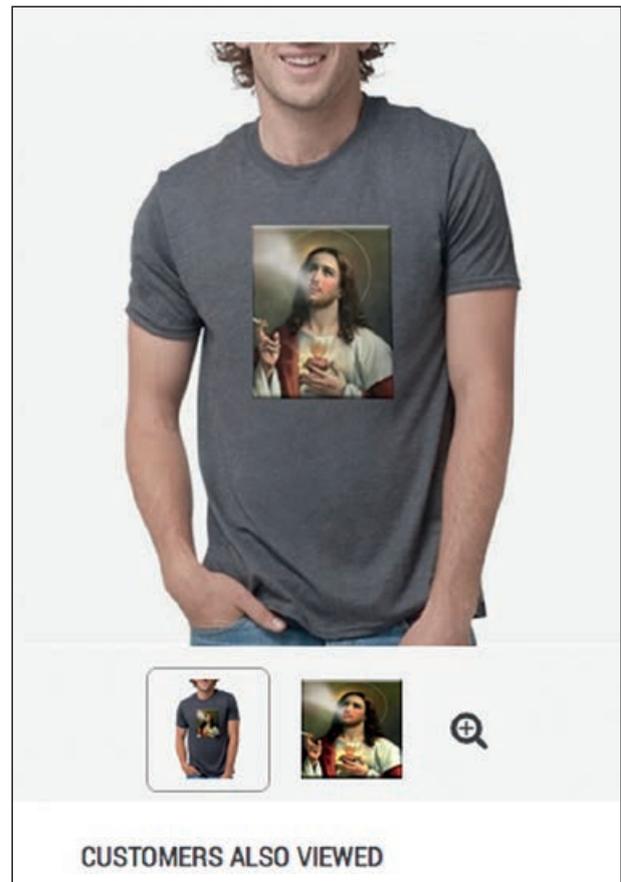
9. Online shop advertisement for a Sacred Heart t-shirt. Photo: https://www.cafepress.com/mf/29421191/holy-smokes_tshirt?productId=376215468

10. *Saint Rochus*, 1849, no. 61 steel engraving from the Verein zur Verbreitung religiöser Bilder Düsseldorf. Photo: https://nazarener--stiche.de/ (Prof. Dr. M. Becker-Huberti)

11. Heinrich Oidtmann, *Saints Valentine and Roch*, Linnich, c. 1870/1880, Jesionowo, Poland, parish church of Saints Matthew, Roch and Valentine. Photo after: *Die Tätigkeit der Glasmalereiwerk-statt Dr. H. Oidtmann in Ost- und Westpreussen in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat., Linnich, Deutsches Glasmalereimuseum, ed. by M. Wierschowski, Linnich, 2007

STEP 3: WHERE HAS THE SOUL GONE? ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO INCREASE QUALITY BY MEANS OF EVEN GREATER IMITATION

The guardians of religious art had recognized the impending conflict: on the one hand, art should not degenerate into a luxury, because then it ceases to fulfill its great missionary profession. Therefore, it was legitimate to take advantage of the opportunities and challenges of new reproduction techniques. The absence of subtleties and the simplicity of the presentation (such as woodcuts) seemed to create an adequate visual language for the people. On the other hand, the artistic ideal of the religious art movement was nevertheless maintained, according to which the divine origin of the work manifests itself in the finished product.

To save art from soulless commodification the so-called neo-gothicists, an international movement, supported by the Catholic Church, issued clear guidelines for the production of ecclesiastical art.[14] The Cologne artist Friedrich Baudri criticized in his 'Kampfblatt', the *Organ für Christliche Kunst* which was published starting in 1851, 'the shallow direction in art, which had sunk into an empty, mindless play of form, as it arose from an antichristian period', and once again announced a renewal of the arts on the fertile soil of Christian religion.[15] But this time a holistic approach was sought. The exemplary character of the medieval artwork should not be confined to

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[14] M.J. LEWIS, *The Politics of German Gothic Revival. August Reichensperger (1808–1895)*, New York, 1993; G. GERMANN, *Neugotik. Geschichte ihrer Architekturtheorie*, Stuttgart, 1974, pp. 93–152 (chapter III: *Neugotik als Reformbewegung*).

[15] F. BAUDRI, 'Redaktionelles Vorwort', in *Organ für christliche Kunst*, 1, 1851, p. 1. On the foundation of the society and the aims of the neogothic movement in Cologne see S. FRAQUELLI, *Im Schatten des Domes. Architektur der Neugotik in Köln*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2008 (Bonner Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, 5), pp. 160–166.

12. Heinrich Oidtmann, *Christ carrying the Cross*, c. 1880, ornamental window with figurative Roundel in lithographic overprint, Chapel of Bestwig-Velemde/North Rhine-Westphalia. Photo: Dr. Dirk Strohmann, LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen Restaurierung und Dokumentation

the mere adoption of the style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but should also include the practice of the old techniques. For glass painting, this meant primarily the application of the mosaic-like technique, whereby the color should be determined largely by the colored glasses leaded together; only grisaille and silver stain were allowed because other colors had not been known at that time. Carpet-like and two-dimensional compositions as well as architectural canopy forms adapted to the building were also required, because glass painting, as a servant of architecture, was always committed to the architectural context in which it was installed. There is no question that this critique was targeted on the windows of the 'Königliche Glasmalereianstalt' in Cologne Cathedral, which had been donated by King Ludwig I (compare Fig. 4).[16]

The Neogothicists had a strong impact on Church circles and convinced customers of the need for material-appropriate production ('Materialgerechtigkeit'). Baudri himself founded his own studio in 1851, where he produced more or less in accordance with the strict Neogothicist principles to improve the quality of stained glass.

Despite their intention, the model-books emerging at that time boosted a contrary development. Works such as Georg Dengler's *Kirchenschmuck*, which was published beginning in 1854, were actually intended as a contribution to improve the quality of art production in the sense

of the neogothic movement.[17] But as a result of technical progress in the field of book printing the model-books became widespread and thus unintentionally contributed to further standardization.

STEP 4: TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND ECONOMY

The demand for simplicity confronted the workshops in a much more contemporary aspect: the economy. Considering the ideological overtones of this topic, Elgin Vaassen is certainly right when she points out the hypocrisy, at the beginning of the industrial age, of stained-glass workshops that made rich financial profit from the simplification of technical means, because they could produce much more cheaply that way.[18]

An example of this is the Merzweiler Company. Founded 1875 in Freiburg, Merzweiler supplied thousands of windows to the diocese and beyond over the course of several decades.[19] The company was certainly also protected by the archbishop's administration because of its commitment to a strictly historical, that is, medieval, method of production, but the favorable prices must have played a no less important role in the awarding of the contracts. This market advantage was achieved by, among other things, a rationalized manufacturing process. For example, in the production of new designs, more often a modular method was used, by recombining already-existing drawings of individual figures, in which the different sizes presumably were adjusted using a mechanical or optical pantograph. In addition, the workshop often resorted to cheaper cathedral glass instead of the more expensive antique glass. To increase the demand for stained glass, the workshops did not hesitate to equip even baroque churches with stained glass by adapting their products stylistically to the given architecture; often, such adjustments were limited to the ornamentation of the frames.

In fact, it was hardly to be expected that the stained-glass windows would become artistically more valuable due to the dogmatic demand for soulful and inspired production methods. On the contrary, this claim was opposed by the explosion of demand for colored glazing, especially since every little church wanted to acquire colorful window decorations after the middle of the nineteenth century. One of those who could help out here was

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[16] S. DAHMEN, *Die Bayernfenster des Kölner Domes 1844–1848. Kirchenausstattung zwischen Kunst, Theologie und Politik*, Cologne, 2009 (Kölner Schriften zu Geschichte und Kultur, 29).

[17] Available online http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kirchenschmuck (published from 1857 to 1895) [retrieved 19 October 2019].

[18] E. VAASSEN, 'Bemerkungen zu den schwäbischen Glasmalern des 19. Jahrhunderts, besonders zu Ludwig Mittermaier (1827–1864) aus Lauingen', in *Nazarener in Schwaben. Sehnsucht nach Seligkeit*, exh. cat., Augsburg, 1990, pp. 220–240, here p. 231.

[19] D. PARELLO, *Von Helmle bis Geiges. Ein Jahrhundert historistischer Glasmalerei*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 2000 (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau, 31), pp. 124–134.

13. Advertisement of the Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaikanstalt in Innsbruck from *Kirchenschmuck* N.F. 3, 1881, pl. 10. Photo: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kirchenschmuck_nf3/0014
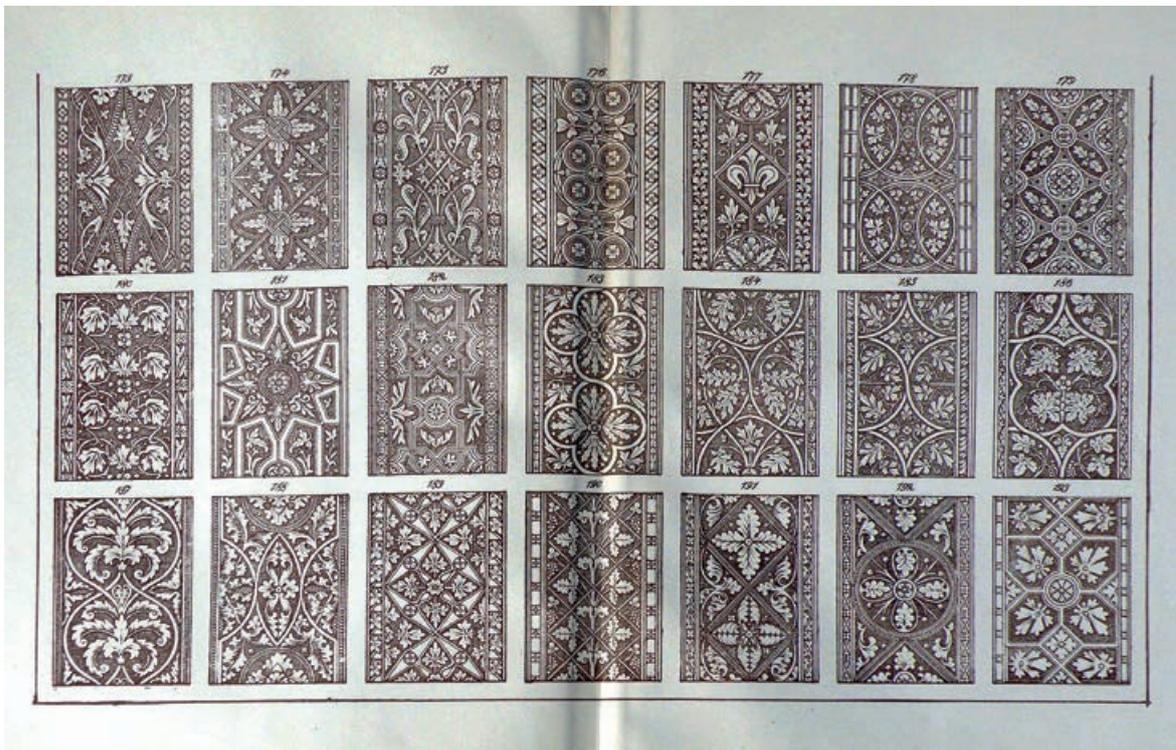
14. Heinrich Oidtmann, '*Musterbuch*': *Kunst-Anstalt für Glasmalerei und Kunstglaserei für Kirchen und Profanbau von Dr. H. Oidtmann & Cie. in Linnich*, c. 1880/1880, Linnich, Archiv der Firma Oidtmann. Photo: Archiv der Firma Oidtmann

15. Heinrich Oidtmann, Ornamental window, Linnich, c. 1880, Kolno, Poland, parish church of the Holy Kings. Photo after: *Die Tätigkeit der Glasmalereiwerkstatt Dr. H. Oidtmann in Ost- und Westpreussen in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat., Linnich, Deutsches Glasmalereimuseum, ed. by M. Wierschowski, Linnich, 2007

Heinrich Oidtmann of Linnich.[20] Oidtmann approached production in a much more pragmatic manner. As a typical representative of industrialization, this trained medical doctor thoroughly roiled the market by offering mass-produced goods. In his opinion, the glass painter must take advantage of modern technological reproduction methods such as photographic processes and printing techniques, because they guaranteed uniform quality and allowed for cheaper production. In an advertising leaflet of the company distributed around 1862 Oidtmann states:

> The true monumental art of decorative stained glass has been given a means of duplication which will undoubtedly give it a broader scope by overcoming the hitherto cumbersome techniques. Every church, no matter how little, and every small congregation, as well as devout benefactors, are given the opportunity to procure the most beautiful church ornaments for little money and to donate a monumental work of art set in glass for many centuries (...).[21]

To demonstrate how far the artistic mission had departed from the historical ideals, it should be explicitly pointed out that the lifespan of the Oidtmann windows was guaranteed for only twelve years! Figure 15 shows an example of a presumably lithographic overprinted window in the Kreuzwegkapelle in Bestwig-Velmede [Fig. 15]. The models for the roundels come from the extremely successful *Bilderbibel* of Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, which was published between 1851 and 1861 with a total of 240 pictures and cost one penny per sheet. In the transfer process on stained glass, a paper print is first produced by means of lithographic printing.[22] In the second step the motif is then transferred onto the glass by rolling over the wet print, and subsequently reinforced by scattering powdered enamel on the design. Oidtmann obviously could also produce monumental stained-glass windows using this method.

[20] D. Parello, 'Zur Firmengeschichte der Oidtmannschen Werkstatt', in *Hauset. Seine neogotische St. Rochus- und Genoveva-Kirche und die alte St. Rochuskapelle*, ed. by E.I. de Wilde et al., Antwerp, 1995, pp. 150–156.

[21] From an advertising brochure of the company (around 1862), published in D. Parello, 'Anspruch und Wirklichkeit in der religiösen Kunstindustrie am Beispiel der rheinischen Glasmalereiwerkstätten Baudri und Oidtmann', in *Renaissance der Gotik. Widerstand gegen die Staatsgewalt? Tagungsband zur Kunst der Neugotik im Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Goch 26.–28. 4. 2002*, ed. by U. Schubert, S. Mann, Kleve, 2003, pp. 171–185, esp. p. 183f.

[22] On this technique H. Oidtmann, 'Verbesserungen in der Glasmalerei-Technik. Der Glasdruck', in *Die Glasmalerei in ihrer Anwendung auf den Profanbau*, Berlin, 1873, S. 110–131; reprinted in *Die Tätigkeit der Glasmalereiwerkstatt Dr. H. Oidtmann in Ost- und Westpreussen in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*', exh. cat., Deutsches Glasmalereimuseum Linnich, ed. by M. Wierschowski, Linnich, 2007.

Another example from Oidtmann's workshop has been preserved in the church at Bodman on the shore of Lake Constance. While the background in a checked pattern may have been designed by using printing methods, the faces of the aristocratic donors were transferred to the glass via pyrophotography.[23] First the glass is coated with an adhesive layer, which has been made photosensitive with chromium salt. Then the glass is placed under a slide or any graphic model, which has previously been made transparent with oil. The light-hit areas harden while the darkened areas remain tacky. Then the powdered grisaille is dusted on it. Before the firing, the glass is rinsed in water to remove the chrome. Such photorealistic reproductions of donors were extremely popular at that time.

The Oidtmann Company relied on the modern standards of rationalization and division of labor and was thus diametrically opposed to the basic values of the neogothic ideologues. In the age of the building boom of churches, Oidtmann & Companie had great success with their products. In fact, many smaller churches, which had only limited budgets, appreciated the moderate price of these works. Despite their questionable artistic quality, products like these were tremendously fashionable. The colorful, atmospheric windows served their purpose and were an effective means of promoting piety and worship in the churches.

The strong criticism of Oidtmann's industrial products proved ineffective, insofar as other workshops also adapted their image production to economic requirements by standardization and multiple use of models. Moreover, Oidtmann's achievement of transferring old models to glass by means of printing is essentially just the consequence of the compulsion to imitate medieval works of art that the Romantics had already paved the way for. And as is well known, behind 'originality' doctrinaires scent heresy.

STEP 5: ORDERING STAINED GLASS FROM CATALOGUES

With the change to mass-produced goods, the distribution channel for stained glass also changed. The typical market participants were no longer individual artists, but

16. Advertising brochure of Benziger Brothers, factory for church ornaments in Brooklyn, 1896. Photo after: H. Nauer, *Fromme Industrie. Der Benziger Verlag Einsiedeln 1750–1970*, Baden/Switzerland, 2017

companies. The contacts with the customers became increasingly institutionalized. By mail, the companies sent out free advertising leaflets and catalogues to the bishopric administrations and parishes. Commercial agents visited the parishes, where the customer could select from various motifs in an illustrated catalogue [Figs 13–15].[24]

For international trade, the newly emerging world exhibitions became more and more important. Participation in them not only promoted the firms' public reputation, but also helped them to build up business and artistic networks.[25]

[23] H. Oidtmann, 'Verbesserungen' (as in note 22); Th. Prümm, 'Ueber Pyrophotographie. Referat nach Oidtmann's Abhandlung', *Photographische Mitteilungen, Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Förderung der Photographie*, 6, 1870, pp. 88–94, and H.W. Vogel, *Die chemischen Wirkungen des Lichts und die Photographie in ihrer Anwendung in Kunst, Wissenschaft und Industrie*, Leipzig, 1874, S. 247–250. Examples for stained glass windows produced with lithography and heliography techniques can be found in the exhibition catalogue *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Angermuseum Erfurt, ed. by M. Böning et al., Leipzig, 1993, pp. 212–215, as well as *Die Tätigkeit der Glasmalereiwerkstatt* (as in note 22).

[24] The catalogue is owned by the Oidtmann Company, Linnich, and was kindly provided to me by Claudia Schumacher, Cologne.

[25] J.-F. Luneau, 'Les peintres verriers dans les expositions universelles: histoire d'un désamour', in *Les expositions universelles en France au XIXe siècle. Techniques. Publics. Patrimoines*, ed. by A.-L. Carré, M. S. Corcy, C. Demeulenaere-Douyère, L. Hilaire-Pérez, Paris, 2012, pp. 244–257; J. Allen, *Windows for the World. Nineteenth-century Stained Glass and the International Exhibitions, 1851–1900*, Manchester, 2018.

17. Cover from the stained glass catalogue *Programm der Königlich Bayerischen Hofglasmalerei-Anstalt F X. Zettler in München*, Munich, 1878. Photo: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

18. Two stained glass windows. The Nos. 14, 15 & 16 refer to the enclosed pricelist (no 14 and 15: 200–300 Reichsmark, no 16: 250–400 Reichsmark per square meter). Stained glass catalogue *Programm der Königlich Bayerischen Hofglasmalerei-Anstalt F X. Zettler in München*, Munich, 1878, pl. 8. Photo: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

In his article *The Religious Art of Benziger Brothers* Saul Zalesch examined the catalogues of the Benziger Company between 1873 and 1888 [Fig. 16].[26] The first American branch of Benzinger, which was established around 1792 as a Swiss publishing house, opened 1853 in New York. They sold more statues and paintings in the United States than perhaps any other purveyor of art. The company also offered prints, banners, rosaries, holy water fonts and countless other articles that became part of the visual environment in which many of America's Roman Catholics developed their aesthetic preferences.[27] Starting

in 1887 the catalogues included photographic reproductions of Benziger's latest product, stained glass windows designed by the Mayer'sche Kgl. Hofkunstanstalt, which then was under the direction of Franz Borgias Mayer.[28] The Hofkunstanstalt, which also produced sculptures etc., became highly successful in foreign business and employed up to 500 people [Figs 17, 18].

Pope Leo XIII nominated the Hofkunstanstalt 'Institute of the Holy Apostolic See', as he had earlier awarded Benziger title of 'Pontificial Institute of Church Art'. The highly organized overseas trade was dominated by firms like Benziger with official links to the papacy.

The manufacturing of stained glass gradually turned into serial production around the middle of the nineteenth century. In order to satisfy the enormous increase in demand for colored windows, new types of reproduction techniques were implemented. These increasingly

[26] S. Zalesch, 'The Religious Art of Benziger Brothers', *American Art*, 13, 1999, pp. 58–79; R. Bean, 'The Art and Advertising of Benziger Brothers' Church Goods Manufacture, New York, 1879–1937', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 11/2, 2004, pp. 78–109; most recently on this topic H. Nauer, *Fromme Industrie. Der Benziger Verlag Einsiedeln 1750–1970*, Baden/Switzerland, 2017; cf. also K. Benziger, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des katholischen Andachtsbildes', *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 1, 1913, S. 65–74.

[27] V. Chieffo Raguin, *History*, pp. 205–210 (as in note 13).

[28] E. Vaassen, *Bilder auf Glas. Glasgemälde zwischen 1780 und 1870*, Munich and Berlin, 1997, pp. 259–266.

eliminated the creative role of the artist from production process. While the artistic means of expression were already severely curtailed by ecclesiastical directives, now less than ever did originality, uniqueness or peculiarity characterize the glass paintings, which became more defined by terms like reproducibility and standardization. The stained glass thus became a popularization medium with a primarily piety-promoting function, which in its artistic values can be compared to other pictorial mass products of techniques such as oil-pressure and gypsum-casting.

Under these conditions, glass painting ought not only be evaluated from a purely artistic point of view. According to Henning Pahl, who wrote a contribution to the image as a medium of popularization in the service of religion, the aesthetic quality of the nineteenth century mass image recedes behind the functional image value.[29] Popular art does not work only by its aesthetic quality, but by the quantity of the comprehensible elements contained in it. This applies especially to the religious image. Qualitative and stylistic criteria play a role insofar as the used sign system must not exceed the viewer's repertoire of signs in order to be understood. Only a simple – and I would like to add recognizable – system of imagery can ensure the success of the communication.

If, however, the artistic individuality of the majority of stained-glass windows was increasingly restricted to craftsmanship, in order to design the pictorial compositions according to the numerous circulating templates, or to fit the picture into a given frame shape and provide it with a framing appropriate to the style of the building, then the question arises whether these works will be overrated in their artistic quality, if we handle them according to the same strict CVMA standards that apply to medieval stained glass. Perhaps the scientific value of a very detailed cataloging would be rather low and cannot easily be justified. In light of this, more appropriate criteria must be developed to manage this phenomenon of mass art.

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[29] H. Pahl, '"Der Holzschnitt redet die Sprache des Volkes" – Das Bild als Popularisierungsmedium im Dienste der Religion', in *Wissenspopularisierung. Konzepte der Wissensverbreitung im Wandel (Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel. Sonderforschungsbereich/Forschungskolleg 435 der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft „Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel", 4),* ed. by C. Kretschmann, Berlin, 2003, pp. 257–279.

SUMMARY

Daniel Parello
'FROM THE PERIOD OF THE DEEPEST DECLINE OF GERMAN ECCLESIASTICAL ART' – SHOULD ARTISTIC QUALITY BECOME A CRITERION FOR AN INVENTORY OF STAINED GLASS?

Keywords: 19th-century stained glass, catholic restoration, art politics, industrialization, mass production

After the middle of the nineteenth century, the production of glass paintings took on enormous dimensions. The many newly founded workshops became increasingly subject to rational production methods. These products can be compared with the articles produced by countless picture factories which contributed to an enormous popularization of the religious image. On the market for ecclesiastical mass production, glass paintings were traded in the same way as plaster figures, oil prints and devotional pictures, as well as goldsmith's and carpenter's work. Ecclesiastical stained glass developed a standardized style and a simple, recognizable pictorial language. From an artistic point of view these catalogue products were fundamentally different from the workshops' considerable achievements at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The article traces the development from stained-glass artwork to the mass product and casts doubt on the sense of a stained-glass inventory in accordance with the standards of the Corpus Vitrearum. Rather, it is necessary to develop appropriate evaluation criteria that take into account the specific quality of these mass produced articles.

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Vitrocentre Romont

THE FUNCTIONING AND DEVELOPMENT OF KIRSCH & FLECKNER'S WORKSHOP IN FRIBOURG DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In 1991, the Swiss Centre for Stained-Glass Research and Information (now Vitrocentre Romont) received a donation from the graphic collection of the Fribourg workshop Kirsch & Fleckner, consisting of more than 1700 works (cartoons and models).

The workshop was active from the end of the nineteenth century until 1938, when Vincenz Kirsch died. This collection was pre-inventoried in the late 1990s by Augustin Pasquier, a former collaborator of the Centre. In 2015, we extended this work with the intention of understanding not only the way the workshop operates but also its development during the first years of its activity, through an in-depth study of the works. The aim of this article is to present the first results of this research, focusing on some artists who collaborated with the workshop.

CREATION OF THE WORKSHOP AND FIRST ASSOCIATION WITH MEHOFFER

The glass painter Ludwig Greiner from Germany settled in Fribourg in 1891, opening his own stained-glass workshop. After only three years, he handed the business over to his young employee, Vinzenz Kirsch. Born in Germany in 1872, Kirsch had been apprenticed there and then moved to Switzerland, where he worked in Adolf Kreuzer's workshop in Zurich. In 1891, he settled in Fribourg, where he was hired by Greiner. When he took over the workshop, Kirsch was only 22 years old and decided to take on an associate: his compatriot Karl Fleckner. He hadn't any training in glass painting but had done an apprenticeship in a cardboard factory in Germany. They decided that Fleckner would assume the administrative

role, and Kirsch the artistic one. During the first years, the stained-glass workshop team was very small: only one employee and one apprentice.[1]

At the end of the nineteenth century, there were very few active stained-glass workshops in Fribourg and a lot of opportunities for expansion in the trade. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century stained-glass windows production in the French-speaking part of Switzerland was dominated by Zurich workshops, such as those of Friedrich Berbig, Johann Jakob Röttinger, Adolf Kreuzer and Karl Wehrli the elder and his son Jakob Georg.[2] During its four years of activity, at the end of the century, Greiner's workshop had represented a very modest part of this trade. In the spring of 1895 the workshop Kirsch & Fleckner was invited to participate in an international contest for the creation of stained-glass windows for the nave of the collegiate church and future Cathedral of Saint-Nicholas in Fribourg. On June 15 1895, Vinzenz Kirsch wrote a letter to the committee, to explain to them that the workshop could not participate in the competition because they had not enough money to pay an artist to create the sketches [Fig. 1]. However, they suggested that they could realize the stained-glass windows based on the drawings of the winner, committing themselves to

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[1] A. Pasquier, 'Du savoir faire du verrier: L'atelier Kirsch & Fleckner', in *Jozef Mehoffer: De Cracovie à Fribourg, ce flamboyant art nouveau polonais*, Fribourg, 1995, p. 99.

[2] E.M. Scheiwiller-Lorber, '*…gemäss den Regeln und Gesetzen der Ästhetik und der christlichen Kunst…': Johann Jakob Röttinger: ein Glasmalerpionier im Dienste des Historismus*, Bern, 2014, pp. 26–27, 217–222.
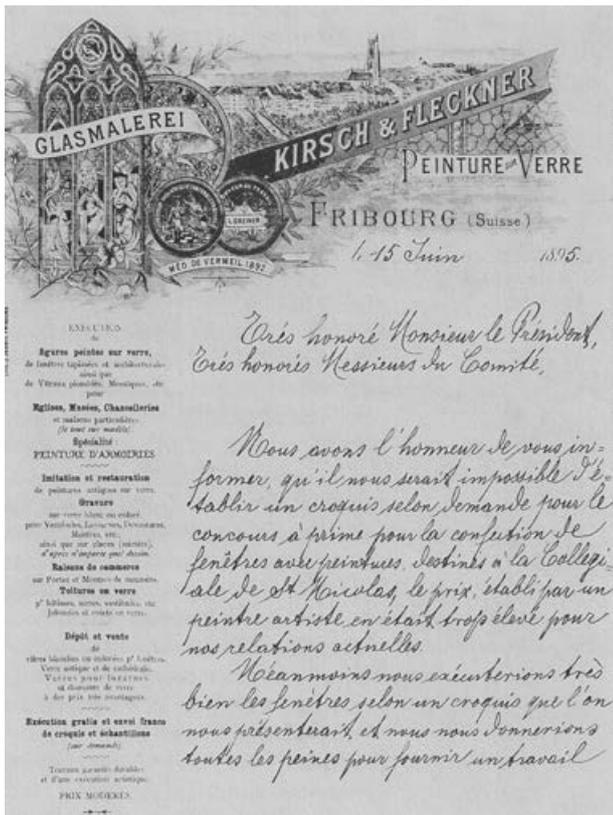
1. Kirsch & Fleckner's letter to the committee of the collegiate church of St Nicholas, Fribourg, 15 June 1895. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont (archives Kirsch & Fleckner)

providing high-quality work.[3] Despite the lack of experience and the youth of the workshop this proposal was accepted and Kirsch & Fleckner were put in charge of making the stained-glass windows that were created by Józef Mehoffer for the cathedral, a huge work that continued over almost 40 years.[4] This letter, written one year after the opening of the workshop, is essential to understanding the workshop's history, because it lays down the foundation for its functioning. Until Vinzenz Kirsch's death in 1938, the atelier worked mainly with self-employed artists, who designed preparatory drawings for stained-glass windows the workshop was ordered to make. Looking at the total number of creations from the workshop, only a few of the works were designed by Vinzenz Kirsch, and most of them were created during the first years of their activities. We could assume that very quickly, the two young bosses understood the issues they had to consider. At the beginning of the twentieth century, stained-glass creation found itself at a crossroads. Mehoffer's stained-glass windows had opened up new artistic possibilities, and the Kirsch & Fleckner workshop understood that they were following a path they could not take alone.

2. Raymond Buchs and Kirsch & Fleckner, *St. John the Baptist and lamb*, 1897, Überstorf (Fribourg), church of St John the Baptist. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont (archives Kirsch & Fleckner)
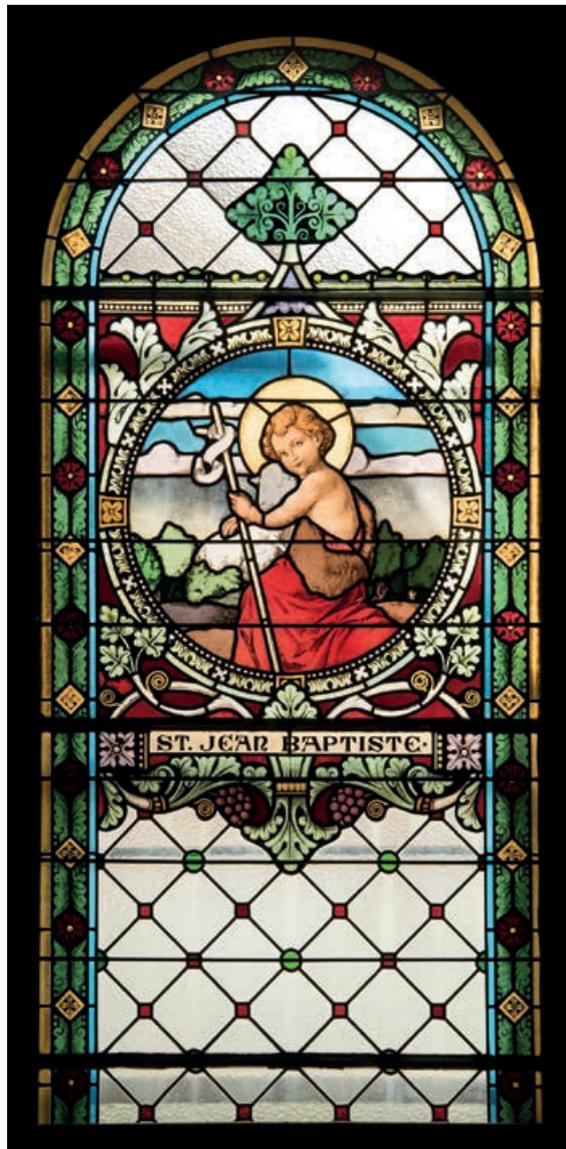
3. Raymond Buchs and Kirsch & Fleckner, *St. John the Baptist and lamb*, 1911–1913, Onnens (Fribourg), church of St Andrew. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, H. Fischer

[3] H. von Roda, *Die Glasmalereien von Józef Mehoffer in der Kathedrale St. Nikolaus in Freiburg i.Ue*, Bern, 1995, p. 49.
[4] Ibidem, p. 11.

Despite being a good designer, Vinzenz Kirsch was clever enough to know his own artistic limits. Therefore the workshop chose to create partnerships with young artists overflowing with curiosity and talent and attracted by novelty. The realization of Mehoffer's first windows was immediately successful. The workshop was rewarded with a gold medal for the Window of Martyrs at the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris.[5] This partnership with Mehoffer was an exceptional business card for the workshop, and led to a great number of works being ordered in the canton of Fribourg, as well as in others parts of Switzerland and outside the country.[6] According to the needs of the workshop and the artists' time and resources, the workshop mainly worked with young independent artists, who were just beginning their careers and were about to start taking up stained-glass art.[7] The first artists who collaborated with the workshop were Raymond Buchs (1878–1958), Jean-Louis Fortuné Bovard (1875–1947), Jean-Edward de Castella (1881–1966) and Henri Broillet (1891–1960). A large part of the stained-glass windows created by Kirsch & Fleckner have so far not been identified with or attributed to an artist.

COLLABORATION
WITH RAYMOND BUCHS

The first local artist to work with Kirsch & Fleckner was Raymond Buchs. He had close ties with the workshop because he had been there as an apprentice between 1894 and 1897. He may have been involved in the development of Mehoffer's first three stained-glass windows in Fribourg at the end of his apprenticeship.[8] From 1898 onwards, he lived in Germany and worked there in different workshops. At the same time, he studied at the schools of Applied Arts in Berlin and Dresden, then in Paris. He returned to Berlin where he headed a graphic arts atelier from 1906, with which he became very successful.[9] Mehoffer's stained-glass designs had only a minor influence on Raymond Buchs. Thanks to them, he discovered Art Nouveau, a style that he developed in his graphic work in Berlin and in the stained-glass windows he created there. But this influence is much more discreet, or nonexistent, in his religious creations in Switzerland.[10] The first certified stained-glass window from Buchs with Kirsch & Fleckner dates from
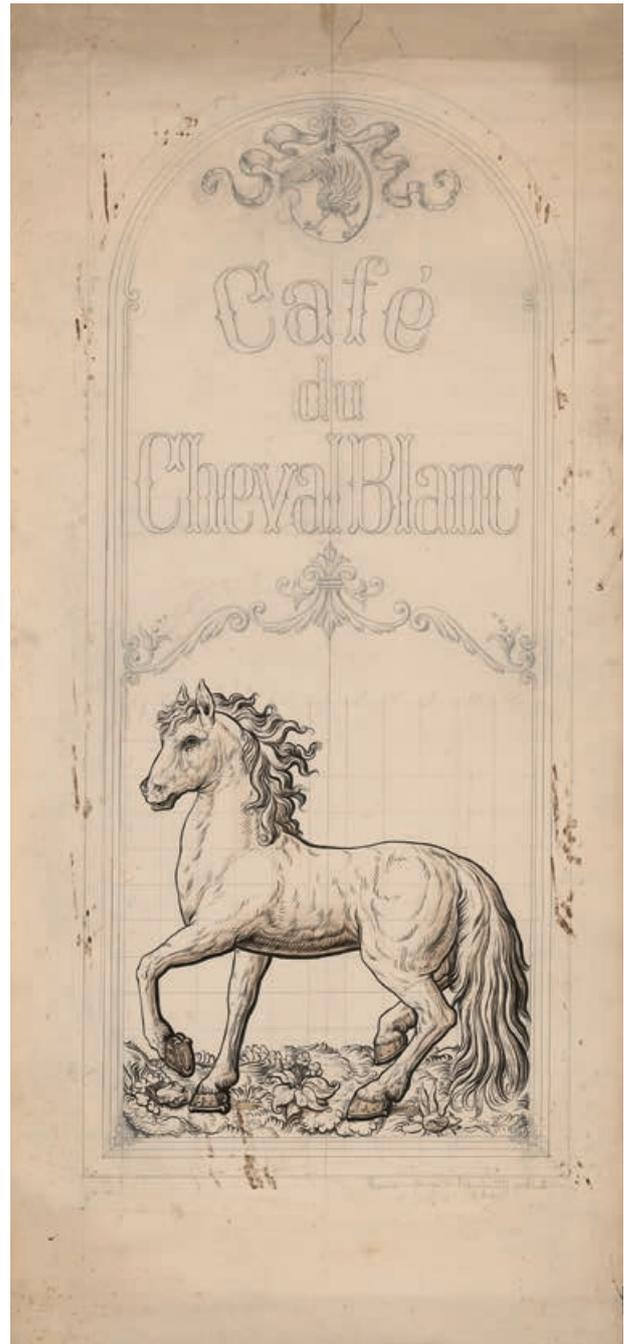
4. Raymond Buchs, *Project with a horse for the White Horse Café*, 1897, Bulle (Fribourg). Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

1897. He created the two roses for the church Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Überstorf. They represent John the Baptist with the lamb [Fig. 2] and Joseph with the Child Jesus, both signed and dated by Buchs. Perhaps they are his end-of-apprenticeship work. Done in a historicist style, the motifs were taken from model books that he might have found in the workshop.[11] We have discovered a lot of stained-glass windows in the canton created on the same models,

[5] Ibidem, p. 49.

[6] A. Pasquier, 'Du savoir faire du verrier', pp. 103–104 (as in note 1).

[7] A. Pasquier, 'Le fonds d'atelier Kirsch & Fleckner et le vitrail catholique suisse de 1900 à 1914', *Dossier de la commission royale des monuments, sites et fouilles* [*Art, technique et science: la création du vitrail de 1830 à 1930]*, 7, 2000, p. 159.

[8] P. Rudaz, 'Les années de formation 1878–1911', in *Raymond Buchs : 1878–1958, peintre*, Fribourg, 2001, pp. 13–14.

[9] Ibidem, p. 15.

[10] P. Rudaz, 'Le vitrail: peinture sur verre et art nouveau', in idem, *Raymond Buchs*, pp. 19–23 (as in note 8).

[11] Unfortunately, it was not possible to find these model books, which were probably thrown away.

5. Raymond Buchs, *Project with a peasant for the White Horse Café*, 1897, Bulle (Fribourg), Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

6. Raymond Buchs and Kirsch & Fleckner, *St. Nicholas of Myra*, 1904–1906, Neyruz (Fribourg), church of The Immaculate Conception, Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

especially for the representation of saints. These patterns were reused numerous times by Buchs and other artists for stained-glass windows in several churches. A good example of this reuse can be observed in a stained-glass window in the church of St Andrew in Onnens, where we can see the same character in the medallion [Fig. 3]. The two small works depicted here already show Buchs' drawing qualities, such as his delicacy and his dexterity in drawing vegetal motifs. Buchs was also in charge of realizing non-religious projects for the workshop. The same year, he created sketches for glass engravings for the doors of the White Horse Café in the city of Bulle in Gruyère. One of

them shows a majestic horse, sideways, with the name of the restaurant written on an arch above [Fig. 4]. Another one presents a peasant in the traditional clothing of Fribourg, called 'Bredzon' [Fig. 5]. The stained-glass window unfortunately doesn't exist anymore, but the doors still exist and show the same middle part in glass. After a visit there, we discovered that in the centre of one of the front doors there is a contemporary engraving on glass which is similar to that of Buchs. The horse is nearly identical and in the same position. Above, the name of the restaurant is written in a similar font. We can assume that it was inspired by the original design.

THE STATUS OF THE ARTIST

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Buchs lived and worked in Germany but his collaboration with Kirsch & Fleckner continued and even increased.[12] Between 1904 and 1906 he created sketches for the stained-glass windows of the parish church of Neyruz. They are all historicist stained-glass windows depicting saints. Two sketches for the nave's windows are signed and dated by the artist. The two windows in the choir were made two years earlier: one represents St. Nicholas of Myra [Fig. 6] and the other Joseph and the Child Jesus. Both are signed with the monogram of Vinzenz Kirsch, and at the bottom of the second one, there is the workshop's signature. However, from a stylistic point of view, there is no doubt about their attribution to Buchs, as we can see with the cartoons [Fig. 7]. This Kirsch monogram, in addition to the workshop signature, raises questions about how the authorship of a stained-glass window is determined. We have found several examples where, as in Neyruz, although he was not the author of the sketches, Kirsch wrote his monogram on the window in addition to the workshop signature. With the exception of two little windows from Überstorf dating from 1897 and a decorative window for a school in Fribourg dating from 1912, all the other stained-glass windows from Buchs are signed only by the workshop and/ or by Kirsch. Was this a way for Kirsch to take credit for drawings not done by him? Or was it normal for him to sign them because he was probably the one who, in the absence of Buchs (who was in Berlin), painted the design on the glass? We are inclined to prefer this second hypothesis but the question is nevertheless intriguing. We have noticed that on several bills, the name of the artist is not indicated, since he was paid by the workshop and not by the customer. Archival research in several church parishes produced the same result: the artist is never mentioned on the documents. The 'virtual' absence of the name of the artist in the creative process (except for some signatures on sketches and cartoons) illustrates that he was considered to be an employee. This seems contradictory, because Mehoffer became the figurehead of the workshop when, in 1900, he was asked to create a stained glass for the front window of the workshop. His name, unlike that of Buchs, was not omitted, but proudly shown.[13] It seems obvious that the status of the two artists was not the same.

WORKING METHODS

Another example is interesting in helping to understand how Buchs worked. It's the most important of stained-glass ensembles by Buchs in his native village, Jaun, created between 1908 and 1910 in association with the one at Onnens which was realized just afterwards, in 1911–1913.

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[12] P. Rudaz, 'Le vitrail: peinture sur verre et art nouveau', pp. 19–23 (as in note 10).

[13] A. Pasquier, 'Du savoir faire du verrier', pp. 103–104 (as in note 1).

7. Raymond Buchs, *St. Nicholas of Myra*, 1904, project for the window of the church of Neyruz. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

In the parish church of Jaun two saints surround the axial window: Saint Peter and Saint Paul are both under an architectural canopy and in front of a white background [Fig. 8]. At Onnens, in the choir, the two saints are identical [Fig. 9]. The examination of the cartoons in the holdings of the workshop allowed us to understand that the projects created for Jaun were reused at Onnens [Fig. 10]. Both saints are exactly the same size. Recently we discovered in the graphic collection two cartoons illustrating the background for the windows from Onnens with landscapes and the contour of the saints [Fig. 11]. Behind
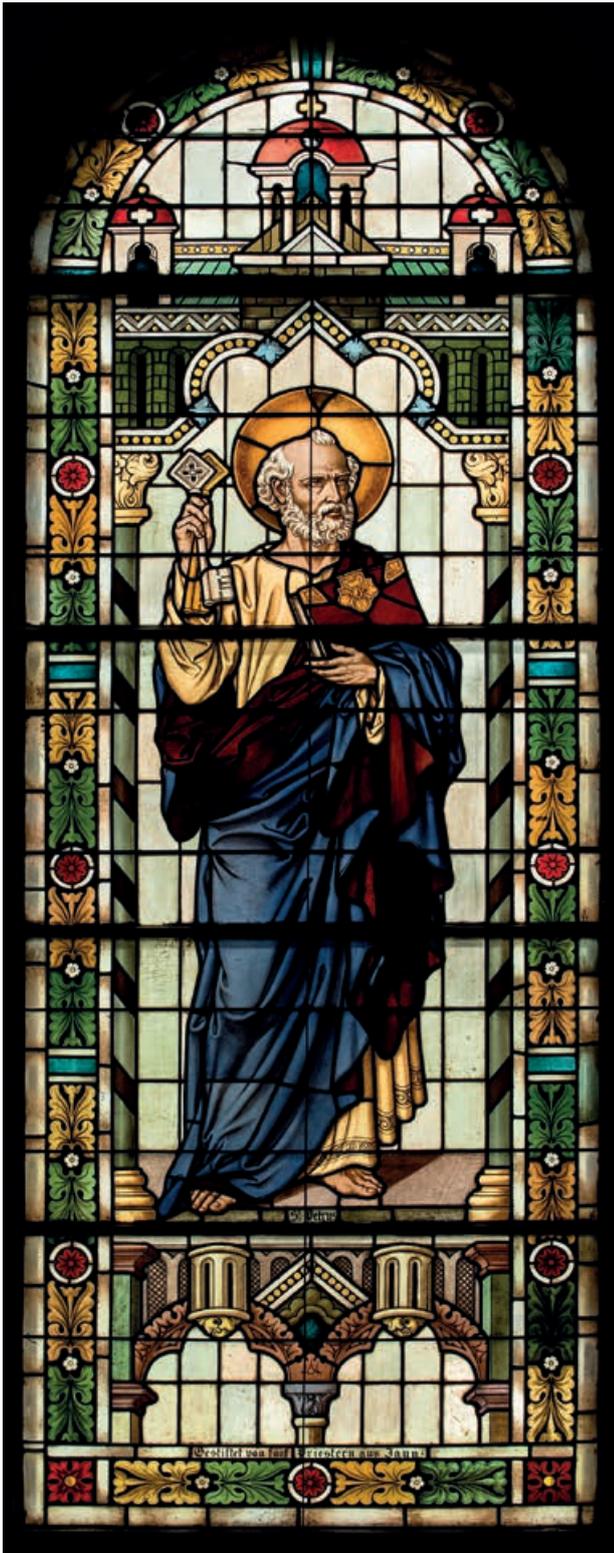
8. Raymond Buchs, *St. Peter*, 1908–1910, Jaun (Fribourg), church of St Stephen. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, H. Fischer
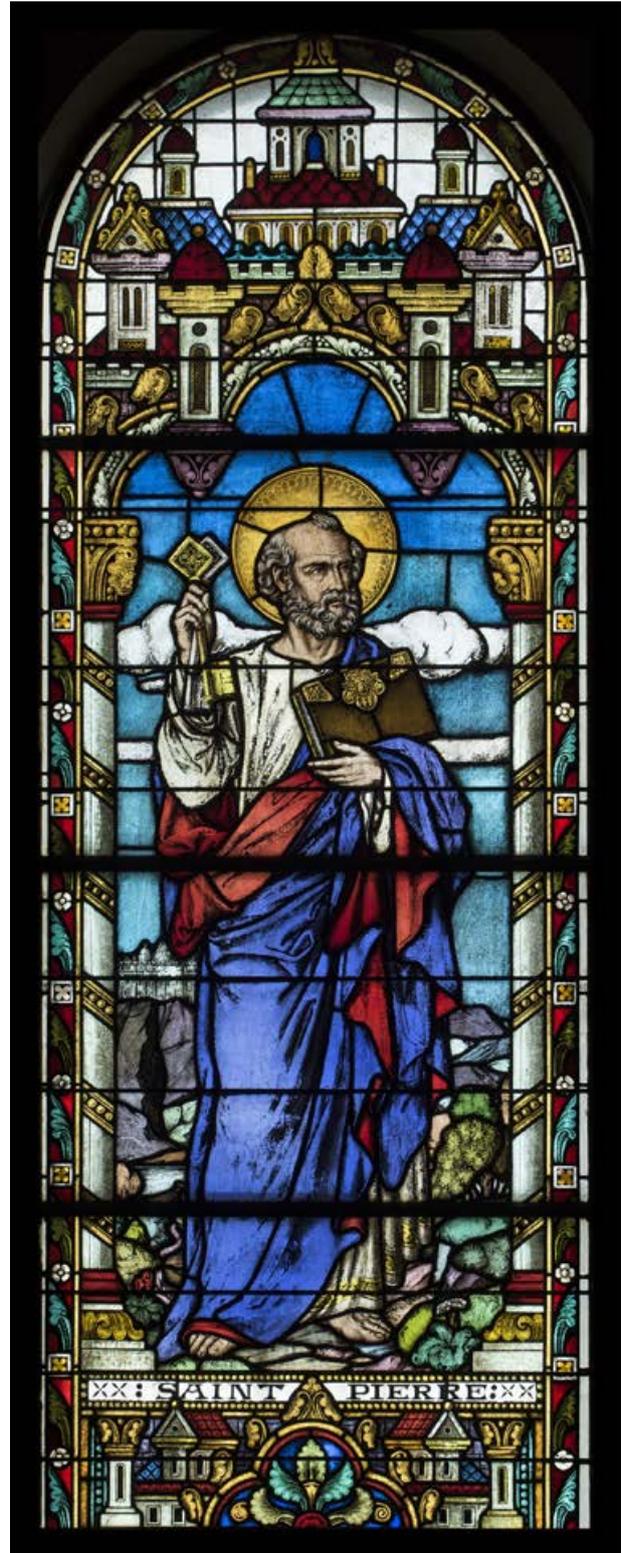
9. Raymond Buchs, *St. Peter*, 1911–1913, Onnens (Fribourg), church of St Andrew. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, H. Fischer

10. Raymond Buchs, *St. Peter*, 1908–1910, project for the windows of the church of St Stephen, Jaun and church of St Andrew, Onnens. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, Y. Eigenmann
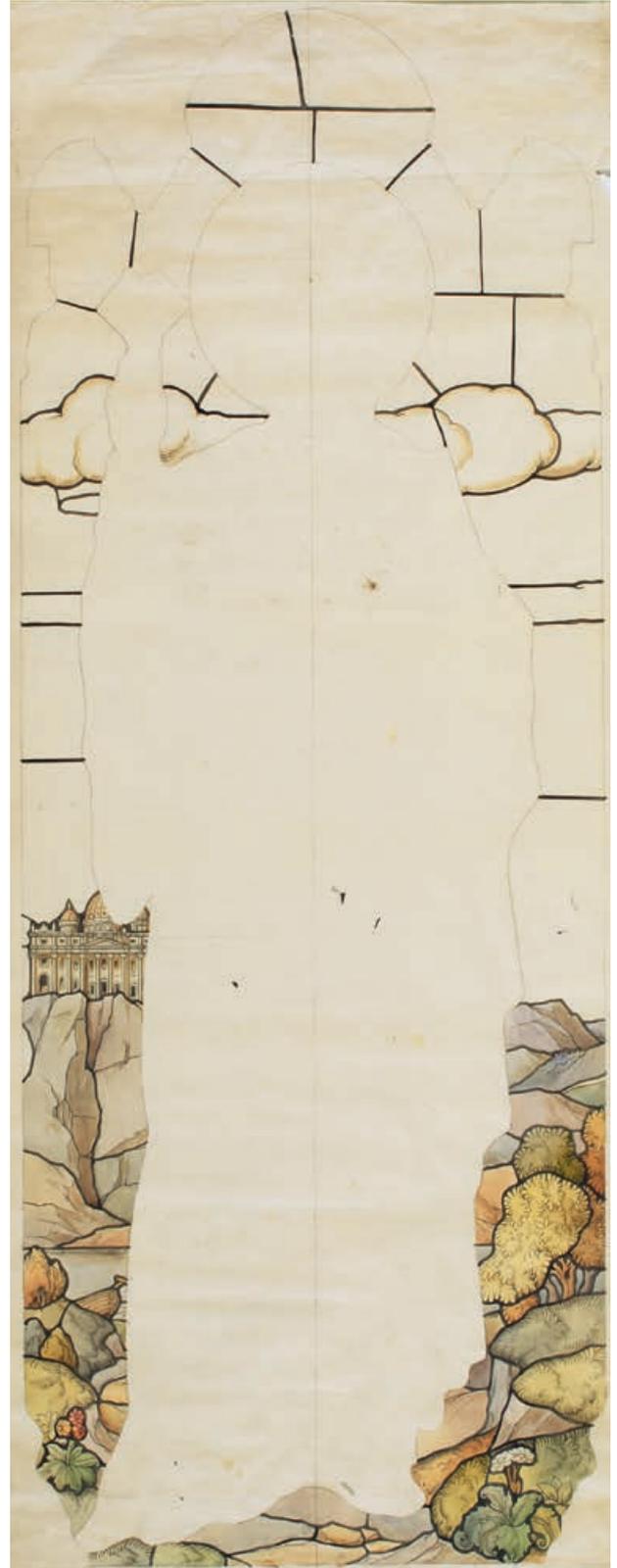
11. Raymond Buchs, background for the window with st. Peter, 1911–1913, project for the church of St Martin, Onnens. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, Y. Eigenmann

12. Fortuné Bovard, *Christ in glory above the ancient church of Cugy*, 1907, project for a window of the church of St Martin, Cugy (Fribourg). Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, Y. Eigenmann

St. Peter (to the left) we can see Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome. Behind St. Paul we can distinguish the ruins of the Acropolis in Athens, with the Parthenon. The example of these cartoons shows an interesting way of working. Reusing the same cartoons for the figures and only creating new backgrounds is a way not to waste time. The twenty stained-glass windows at Onnens are the last work done by Buchs on stained-glass. According to information transmitted by his granddaughter, Mme Suzanne Wechsler,[14] it seems that the artist suffered too much from tensions with the parish authorities and wished to distance himself from that world.

AN EXAMPLE OF COLLABORATION: JEAN-LOUIS FORTUNÉ BOVARD AND THE CHURCH OF VUISTERNENS-DEVANT-ROMONT

More or less during the same period as with Buchs, the workshop collaborated with another talented artist: Jean-Louis Fortuné Bovard. Probably born in Fribourg, he received, like Buchs, an excellent artistic education in Geneva, Basel, Munich and Paris. Bovard was likely Eugène Grasset's student at the Guerin school in Paris from around 1900 to 1903. He was apprenticed between 1891 and 1904, perhaps in Greiner's workshop or at Edouard Hosch's in Lausanne. In 1904, he moved to Lausanne and opened his own studio about 1907.[15] He created several stained-glass windows for Kirsch & Fleckner as well as for Chiara's worshop in Lausanne.[16] The ensemble of stained-glass windows in the church of Cugy in Fribourg, which was the subject of Augustin Pasquier's thesis,[17] was one of Bovard's most important works with Kirsch & Fleckner [Fig. 12].[18] The realization of the stained-glass windows for the church of Vuisternens-devant-Romont, in 1906, is a really interesting case which allows us to understand the functioning of the workshop. Four windows in the choir were executed by Kirsch & Fleckner, based on Raymond Buchs' drawings. For one of them, representing Saint Joseph and Christ [Fig. 13], we possess two sketches. The first one is signed by Raymond Buchs, and corresponds

[14] We are very grateful to Mrs. Suzanne Wechsler, Raymond Buchs' granddaughter, for sharing many items of information and archival materials relating to Buchs and preserved at her house in Bern.

[15] A. PASQUIER, *Les vitraux de l'église de Cugy: conçus par l'abbé Edouard Gambon, élaborés par l'artiste Fortuné Bovard, réalisés par l'atelier Kirsch & [et] Fleckner: art néotemporaliste dans la République chrétienne du canton de Fribourg, en 1907*, PhD diss., University of Fribourg, 1999, pp. 54–57.

[16] C. HOSTETTLER, *L'Atelier P. Chiara – Lausanne: un producteur de vitraux domestiques au début du 20e siècle*, (Mémoire de Licence inédit), PhD diss., University of Lausanne, 2001, pp. 35–36.

[17] A. PASQUIER, *Les vitraux de l'église de Cugy* (as in note 15).

[18] A. PASQUIER, 'Du savoir faire du verrier' (as in note 1).

to the first step of realization [Fig. 14]. The second one, which can stylistically be attributed to Fortuné Bovard [Fig. 15], represents a second phase with modifications. We can imagine that the customer was not entirely satisfied with Buchs' design, and asked the workshop to make some changes. It seems to have been easier to ask Bovard to make these corrections because Buchs was in Berlin at the time.[19] The choice of involving two different artists in the creation of one stained glass reveals a very particular way of collaboration. As in Neyruz, the name of the artist is not mentioned on the window, whereas the workshop signature is perfectly visible on another window of the choir. Without the two cartoons, nobody could have imagined that Fortuné Bovard had also been involved in this work. This case also raises the question of how much consideration and visibility, except for the case of Mehoffer, the artists appointed received during the first years of the workshop's activities.

TWO ARTISTS INSPIRED BY MEHOFFER: JEAN-EDWARD DE CASTELLA AND HENRI BROILLET

Another artist from Fribourg, though born in Australia, began to work with Kirsch & Fleckner a few years after Raymond Buchs. His name was Jean-Edward de Castella. He trained in the Ecole professionnelle des arts et métiers (School of Arts and Crafts) in Fribourg at the same time as Buchs, with whom he became friends. In 1899, he began his studies in Munich at the Academy of Fine Arts until in 1902 he moved to Paris.[20] Back in Fribourg, he was appointed by Kirsch & Fleckner to create, between 1903 and 1906, some sketches for the church of Saint-Michel in Heitenried. In the choir, three windows and particularly the axial window [Fig. 16] show that the young Castella dared to free himself from the conventional forms of historicism, to steer himself towards modernity in which his future style would blossom. Revealing a great force, this axial window was inspired by Mehoffer's first stained-glass windows in Fribourg Cathedral. This inspiration is revealed by the choice of bright colors but also by the multiple juxtaposition of tints and shades. Several panels of the stained-glass windows in the nave show characteristics which prefigure very well the artist's way to master human figures. This will mark his artistic identity from the beginning of the 1930s. In 1922, Castella created projects for stained-glass windows of a church of Plasselb. He worked with the same guidelines used in Heitenried but went further. One of the best examples is the stained glass dedicated to St. Christopher [Fig. 17]. He makes a very

13. Raymond Buchs, Fortuné Bovard and Kirsch & Fleckner, *St. Joseph and the Christ*, 1906, Vuisternens-devant-Romont (Fribourg), church of Notre-Dame-de-La-Nativité. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, H. Fischer

meticulous grisaille work in order to give volume to elements and an extraordinary monumentality to his structure. His only purpose is to draw the attention of the spectator to the faces and glances of both protagonists. The composition, which is without any useless artifact, reinforces this intimacy with the spectator.

In the early 1930s, Castella moved towards a crisp line and a simplification in colored effects without betraying the style of his beginnings. Two small stained-glass windows in the little chapel of Richterwil Castle illustrate this evolution [Fig. 18]. The bodies and the faces are drawn with an important economy of line without losing their power. The artist uses colors with the same economy to enhance his statement. The red body of Christ and the green faces of the angels serve the desired overall effect. These compositional principles will be recurrent in his

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[19] P. Rudaz, 'Le vitrail: peinture sur verre et art nouveau', pp. 19–20 (as in note 10).

[20] F. Arnaud, F. Pajor, 'Couleurs et lumières, de Melbourne à Fribourg', in *L'église Saint-Pierre à Fribourg*, Fribourg, 2008, pp. 54–55.

14. Raymond Buchs, *St. Joseph and the Christ*, 1906, project for the church of Vuisternens-devant-Romont. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

15. Fortuné Bovard, *St. Joseph and the Christ*, 1906, project with modifications for the window of the church of Vuisternens-devant--Romont. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

stained-glass creations until his last windows, which date from the middle of the century.[21]

In 1916, Kirsch & Fleckner attracted another young artist from Fribourg, 25-year-old Henri Broillet. He was a student in Munich and then at the School of Sacred Art

in Paris, where he worked under the direction of Maurice Denis.[22] The workshop asked him to create sketches for all the windows of the Church of St. Pierre & Paul at Villars-sur-Glâne [Fig. 19] in Art Nouveau Style. We can clearly see the influence of Mehoffer, mainly in the way Broillet uses colors. He lays out the premises of what will be his strength as a stained-glass window creator. He reveals a very clear composition combined with highly contrasting tones. In using a rich panel of vivid colors and by playing with different shades, he obtains a great intensity in his drawing. Six years later, Broillet realized four stained-glass windows for the choir of a little church in Saint-Aubin. Following the principles developed at

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[21] In particular, he created the very important stained-glass cycle of the Church of Saint-Pierre in Fribourg with the workshop of Alfred Kirsch (son of Vinzenz) between 1941 and 1945; Ibidem.

[22] Service des Biens culturels, 'Les artistes du Groupe de St-Luc', in *Le Groupe de St-Luc*, Fribourg, 1995, p. 52.

16. Jean-Edward de Castella, *St. Michael fighting the dragon*, 1903–1906, project for the church of St Michael, Heitenried (Fribourg). Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, Y. Eigenmann

17. Jean-Edward de Castella and Kirsch & Fleckner, *St. Christopher*, 1922, Plasselb (Fribourg), church of the Immaculate Conception. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

18. Jean-Edward de Castella and Kirsch & Fleckner, *Pietà*, 1931, Bösingen (Fribourg), chapel of Richterwil Castle. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

19. Henri Broillet and Kirsch & Fleckner, *St. Michael*, 1916, Villars-sur-Glâne (Fribourg), church of St Peter and Paul. Photo: Vitrocentre Romont

20. Henri Broillet, *Crucifixion*, 1922, project for the church of St Aubin, Saint-Aubin (Fribourg). Photo: Vitrocentre Romont, Y. Eigenmann

Villars-sur-Glâne, he used here strong chiaroscuro which reinforces the dramaturgy of the scene [Fig. 20].

CONCLUSION: THE EVOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP IN ITS WAY OF COLLABORATING WITH ARTISTS

The examples of these four artists, collaborators with the Kirsch & Fleckner workshop since its inception, clearly illustrate the artistic vision of the founders. Modernity was initiated by Mehoffer's first stained-glass windows in Fribourg Cathedral. Buchs, despite being the most traditional

artist among the four, and representing the transition between the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, frees himself from a monotone historicist style and soon starts to show a productive imagination. From the beginning, Bovard, Broillet and Castella choose the way initiated by Mehoffer but with their own sensibility and intentions.

The signature situation evolves too. The artist's signature occurs only very rarely in Buchs' and Bovard's stained-glass works. After 1915 it becomes normal for the artists to sign their own work. Signatures can frequently be found on Castella's and Broillet's stained-glass windows. In our opinion, we can see here a change in the

workshop's mentality. The workshop's owner recognised that the artists and their diversity could have a great potential to boost the workshop in the trade in French-speaking Switzerland and beyond. Thanks to its ability to use the strengths of their artists, Kirsch & Fleckner became one of the most important workshops in Switzerland. Initially considered as anonymous employees, artists were later granted the status of valuable collaborators whose names should be proudly displayed. The representatives of the new generation, such as Castella and Broillet, asked for better visibility through their signatures on the stained-glass windows and also asked, in addition to their painting career, for artistic recognition in the field of stained glass.

SUMMARY

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THE FUNCTIONING AND DEVELOPMENT
OF KIRSCH & FLECKNER'S WORKSHOP
IN FRIBOURG DURING THE FIRST HALF
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Keywords: workshop, artist, stained-glass windows, cartoon, church

The detailed study we have been carrying out since 2015 on the graphic background of the Fribourg workshop Kirsch and Fleckner, comprising more than 1700 works (cardboard boxes and models), has enabled us not only to understand its functioning but also its development during its first years of activity.

Opened in 1894, the workshop was granted the following year the mandate to produce Józef Mehoffer's stained glass windows at Saint-Nicolas Cathedral in Fribourg. Winning a gold medal with one of its glass windows at the 1900 Paris Universal Exhibition was a great opportunity which enabled the workshop to win many contracts not only in the canton but far beyond.

While Karl Fleckner was in charge of the administration, Vinzenz Kirsch, who had a solid background as a glassmaker and was a talented draftsman, managed the artistic part. During the first few years, he created several glass cycles, but then, based on his experience with Mehoffer, he preferred to call on young artists from the region who were open to artistic innovation. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the workshop began a successful collaboration with four of them: Raymond Buchs, Fortuné Bovard, Jean-Edward de Castella and Henri Broillet. Usually the workshop would obtain the requests and propose the projects to the artists. Their talent and artistic personality would not only forge the workshop's reputation, but also allowed it to develop a very efficient way of working to respond to many requests.

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FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY STAINED GLASS WINDOWS OF CATALONIA

INTRODUCTION: ANTECEDENTS

We have often talked about taking up some models from different works. We have seen how some elements of other arts or other stained-glass windows were used by some designers in order to create a new work.

It is an evident fact that neo-Gothic windows were influenced by the Gothic style. At the end of the nineteenth century, a lot of ornamental border designs come from Gothic works. The artistic connections can be at a local level or at a more general one.

Designs of Gothic architecture were copied in windows from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Artists chose Gothic canopies and integrated them into neo-Gothic compositions. Some figures were also copied, and some of these from images that were in the same building. This is the case of the *Saint Tecle* stained glass window of Barcelona Cathedral, made by Amigó Studio in 1880 (designed by the painter Agustí Rigalt), which came from an altarpiece of the fifteenth century located in a chapel of the nave.

In this context, six years ago (2011), some artistic windows from the *Vidimus* page of the Great British Corpus Vitrearum attracted our attention. Those masterpieces were in issue 51 of *Vidimus* in an article written by Laura Tempest.[1] The two stained glass windows that were studied date from the eighteenth century. We were surprised because we know another version of the same subject, the composition of which is very similar to the British windows. It is a sketch preserved in Santa Maria del Mar Church, in Barcelona, and it is also from the eighteenth

century. It was a design made for a window of another church of Barcelona, Santa Maria del Pi.

The excellent Baroque researcher Francesc Miralpeix showed us the resemblance between those windows and an engraving (of the seventeenth century) that reproduces an Italian painting by Carlo Maratta (seventeenth century), who worked in Rome and who was the author of the well-known work *Ascension to Heaven of the Virgin Mary*. The engraving, made by Nicolau Dorigny, was very successful, and it was copied in places as far afield as Great Britain and Catalonia.[2]

These facts were the origin of the study of the borrowed images, which leads us to the questions about the windows at the turn of the twentieth century, when the models came not only from other arts and times but also from other countries and recent periods. Now, we are convinced that international collaboration is important for our research, to understand better the local productions, too.

LOCAL ARTISTS AND FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

Logically, local artists contributed, along with the glassmakers, to the technical and stylistic changes produced in the late nineteenth century, but part of the designs come from other places and some of them were copied from other countries.

There are in Barcelona some works dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century, which were made by

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[1] https://vidimus.org/issues/issue-51/panel-of-the-month/ [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[2] http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/stampe/schede/D0080-02749/ [retrieved 1 February 2019].

1. William Morris & Co., *Children of Bacchus*, 1906, Westminster. Photo after: *The Studio yearbook of decorative art of 1906*, London, Paris and New York Offices of "The Studio"

European workshops. In fact, two Jules Decoin windows were made for the Barcelona Cathedral (1863) and another in Santa Maria del Mar Church. Maréchal et Champigneulle of Metz also worked in Santa Maria del Mar. Furthermore, the Swiss Georges Müller moved to Barcelona after legal troubles that he had had in his own land.[3] He was one of the agents of change and transformation in the middle nineteenth century windows in Barcelona. On the other hand, Catalan ateliers found their own way and, little by little, they started the first changes that made possible the last great nineteenth century stained glass windows revolution. All these changes were due to initiatives by local artists but also to external influences that came from different directions.

In order to answer the questions about the origin of these models, we have studied the workshops' archives.

Travel and studies were basic elements going to reinforce the knowledge of international techniques and artistic changes. Grants and studies in foreign workshops or schools were relevant ways to import innovations. We remember the case of Frederic Vidal with the Cloisonné Glass.[4] A lot of painters travelled to visit monuments and study the European works and they created designs to make windows. Italy and France were the first goals of these trips, but Great Britain and Germany also became destinations of the artists.

The International Exhibitions were also relevant, because they were a showcase of new techniques and aesthetics.

But in this paper we would like to discuss another significant way to import models: magazines and image repertories. We have focused our research on the Rigalt and Granell atelier, whose archive is preserved in the Centre de Documentació of the Museu del Disseny de Barcelona.[5] Rigalt and Granell was one of the most important ateliers of Barcelona at the turn of the twentieth century. In its background workshop (preserved in the Museum) there are materials such as journals, image repertoires and magazine subscription invoices. We can find magazines such as *The Studio*, *Der Moderne Still* (1900–1901), and *Kunstgewerbliches Skizzenbuch* of Anton Seder, about decorative techniques. After 1890, they subscribed to *Dekorative Volbilder* by Julius Hoffmann. There are woodcuts of repertoires with ornamental and allegorical figures. There are also *Décoration Ancienne & Moderne*, *Documents d'Atelier*, *Art et Décoratio*n (1896–1926), *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (1898–1904) of Alex Koch, the Italian *Modelli d'Arte Decorativa* (Milan) and French repertoires like L'*Ornamentation par la plante* (París) by M.P.

[3] S. Cañellas, N. Gil, 'Catalan medieval dynasty on stained glass window', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 66, 2012, no. 3/4: *Dynastiche Repräsentation in der Glasmalerei*, pp. 468–477 and A. Aymar i Puig, 'Recuerdos de Barcelona. Vidrieras S. Ma. Mar de Barcelona y notícias de algunas personas que han intervenido en la restauración de tan insigne monumento', *El Correo Catalan*, 9, 14, 15 October 1913.

[4] N. Gil and J. Bonet, 'Cloisonné glass un fenomen modernista', *Coup de fouet*, 26, 2016, p. 26–37. http://www.artnouveau.eu/upload/magazine_pdf/26_a_fons.pdf [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[5] N. Gil, *El taller de vitralls modernista Rigalt, Granell & Cia (1890–1931)*, University of Barcelona, 2013 (see: http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/handle/2445/54691 [retrieved 1 February 2019]).

2. Rigalt, Granell & Co., *Children of Bacchus*, early 20th century, Barcelona, Museu del Disseny, Fons Rigalt. Photo: Barcelona, Museu del Disseny

Verneuil.[6] They knew also the English *Grammar of Ornament*.

Thus, in the Rigalt and Granell atelier, there were a lot of images that come from manuals or repertoires that show ornamental designs and allegorical images and a lot of international magazines and books that reproduce European paintings and windows. All of this helps us to know what the sources of their inspiration were.

Many works of the Rigalt and Granell atelier derived from these images; some of them reinterpreted small elements, but others are new versions of foreign masterpieces or also copies of other works. There are designs that didn't become windows, but in other cases the window was made and some of them have been preserved.

FOREIGN MODELS

We can see Italian models, like the paintings of Bernardino Luini, a Northern Italian painter from Leonardo's circle. His masterworks are the Passion and Crucifixion fresco at Santa Maria degli Angeli in Lugano.

We talk here about the models based on ancient picture models (sixteenth century). The original masterpieces are *Salome Receiving the Head of St John the Baptist* (Louvre Museum, Paris) and *Herodias* (Galeria degli Uffizi, Florence). In this case it is an interpretation of two pictures about a similar subject that were used for a window design. The definitive design was a combination of both, but we don't know the appearance of the final window.

Other models come from British works such as the William Morris Studios of Westminster, London. William Morris (1874–1944) and his family established their firm in Westminster, where they worked until the 1950s.[7]

He published some of its works in *The Studio* magazine; some of them had a second life in the Rigalt and Granell atelier.[8] An example of this is *Children and Bacchus*, one detail of which was shown in *The Studio yearbook of decorative art* of 1906 [Fig. 1]. The image was reinterpreted by Rigalt and Granell. This design is preserved in Centre de Documentació of Museu del Disseny de Barcelona [Fig. 2].

Recently, we have located an image on the internet that shows another version of this design. There are the same

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[6] These magazines arrived through the Llibreria Parera, Ronda Universitat, 12, 1er, Barcelona; invoices are preserved in Fons Granell de l'Arxiu del Museu del Disseny de Barcelona.

[7] More information: https://stainedglassmuseum.com/collections/74_1_2.htm [retrieved 1 February 2019] and also: R. COOKE, 'The Other William Morris', *The Journal of Stained Glass*, 24, 2000, pp. 53–59. We appreciate the kind clarifications made by Jasmine Allen about the difference between this workshop and the most famous William and Morris Co. We also thank her for the information she sent us about the mentioned studio.

[8] You can find the magazine at: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/studio_yearbook1906?sid=1dda295edd6269ccbef8ea43931df862&ui_lang=eng [retrieved 1 February 2019], and there are an article of some works at: https://standrewsrarebooks.wordpress.com/2014/06/12/52-weeks-of-historical-how-tos-week-33-the-art-of-stained-glass/ [retrieved 1 February 2019].

3. Rigalt & Granell Co., *The enchanted wood*, early 20th century, Barcelona, Museu del Disseny, Fons Rigalt. Photo: Barcelona, Museu del Disseny

4. Rigalt & Granell Co., *Two red roses across the moon*, early 20th century, Barcelona, Museu del Disseny, Fons Rigalt. Photo: Barcelona, Museu del Disseny

images, but we can see the goat legs of the two children. The internet page says it is an Oscar Paterson work.[9]

Another work, this one signed by Oscar Paterson, attracted the Catalan workshop's attention. The Scottish artist was one of the most valued Scottish glassmakers; he was born in Glasgow and specialized in jewellery and stained glass. His works could be seen in domestic interiors in Glasgow but also across the rest of the U.K., and also in Europe, India, and Australia. He published in the same magazine, *The Studio*, a reproduction of the window *The enchanted wood*. There is in the Museu del Disseny de Barcelona the same design, repainted by Rigalt & Granell [Fig. 3].

Ernest Archibald Taylor was born in Greenock, Scotland. There are many of his works in public collections in the United Kingdom. He was an oil painter, watercolourist and etcher, and a designer of furniture, interiors and stained glass.

One of his stained-glass window designs, of 1904, with the image of a female figure in profile, with a long tunic, located in a meadow full of flowers, was used by Rigalt and Granell as the basis for a new work.[10] At the bottom of the window there is the text, *Cross the moon to red rose*. The original window was designed for the bottom of a house door and it shows only the figure from the waist up and the roses. The window has the title, *Two red roses across the moon*.

The Catalan window has the same central part, but on it there is the complete female figure and a wide space with ornamental motifs [Fig. 4].

René Beauclair, a French painter who contributed with his designs to the Julius Hoffmann publications, was the author of some designs published in *Bunte Verglasungen* from Stuttgart, a book with models designed to be
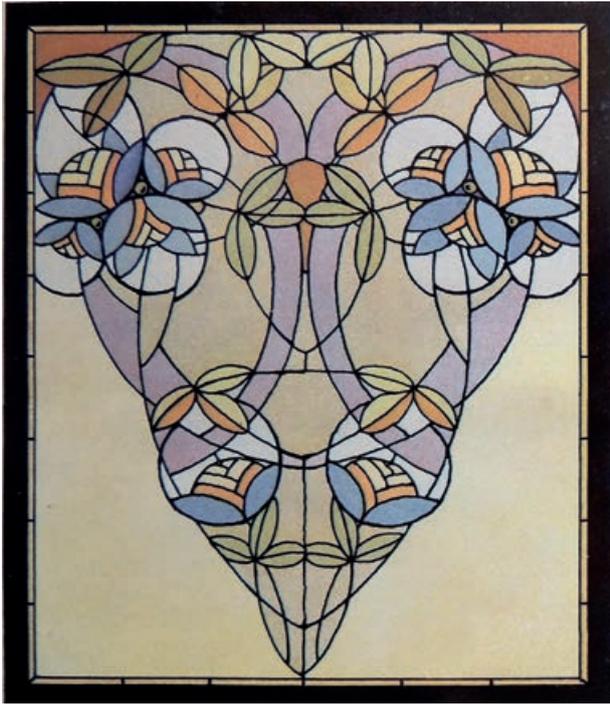
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[9] The image is at: http://auctions.lyonandturnbull.com/auction-lot-detail/OSCAR-PATERSON-%281836-1934%29-STAINED%2C-PAINTED-AND-LEADED-GLASS/357++++++252+/++141420 [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[10] https://www.invaluable.com/artist/taylor-ernest-archibald-m17n-qg1szu/sold-at-auction-prices/ [retrieved 1 February 2019].

5. René Beauclair, stained glass design, early 20th century. Photo after: M.J. Gradl, R. Pochga, R. Waldraff, R. Beauclair, G.M. Ellwood, P. Lang, R. Geyling, J. Goller, R. Bacard, *Bunte Verglasungen*, Stuttgart, 1904

6. Rigalt & Granell Co., sewing room window, c. 1906–1907, Girona, Cassà de la Selva, Can Nadal. Photo: S. Cañellas

translated into stained glass windows.[11] The Catalan re-interpretation is in Cassà de la Selva, a small town next to Girona. It is in Can Nadal, a private house that now is part of the local government offices.[12] Those stained-glass windows are located in a door on the first floor and in a window on the staircase. The ornamental designs of these windows come from the same volume [Figs 5–8].[13]

The Hotel Regina designs also derive from this same volume. The building is located in Bergara Street, Barcelona, and its architect was Francesc Recasens. The stained glasses are in four windows. The ornamental designs are repeated twice in symmetrical disposition. These windows are dated 1917 and were made by Rigalt, Granell & Cia. The ornamental motifs are much stylised vegetable forms and flowers. Their designs were provided again by René Beauclair. A reproduction of a preparatory design for this work was found in the Rigalt atelier archives.

In the same volume of *Bunte Verglasungen* there is another design [Fig. 9], in this case drawn by the German

glass painter and graphic artist Josef Goller, who is considered to be a relevant Jugendstil representative.[14] He directed the artistic works of the company that was later called Urban & Goller, in Dresden. In the Catalan version there are small modifications from the original Goller rose bush. We can see it in the windows of the house located at Gran de Gràcia street, 61, Barcelona [Fig. 10].

Urban & Goller was also the atelier responsible for the stained-glass window located in the staircase of the Radebeuler town hall.[15] At the top of the window there is the image of a farmer who is working the land with a plough pulled by a horse. Its design was published in the *Meisterwerke der Deutschen Glasmalerei*, image 78.[16] Maybe a Catalan version of this image was not made because the windows of the Casa Garriga Nogues, were it would have gone, were finally devoted to other designs [Figs 11, 12].

[11] https://www.musees-midi-pyrenees.fr/encyclopedie/artistes/rene-beauclair/ [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[12] S. Cañellas, N. Gil, D. Grau, A. Vila i Delclòs, A. Vila i Rovira, 'Una peça singular i les vidrieres "Art Nouveau" a Can Nadal. La Vitrofania de Can Trinxeria', *Llumiguia. Revista de Cassà de la Selva*, 76, 2017, no. 768, https://www.cassadigital.cat/en-paper/675/768-febrer-2017 [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[13] https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=20217440427&searchurl=sortby%3D17%26an%3Dgradl%2Bm%2Bj [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[14] https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Josef%20Goller&item_type=topic [retrieved 1 February 2019]; https://alchetron.com/Josef-Goller-1220722-W [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[15] http://www.wikiwand.com/de/Radebeuler_Rathaus [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[16] http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16028coll4/id/15728 [retrieved 1 February 2019].
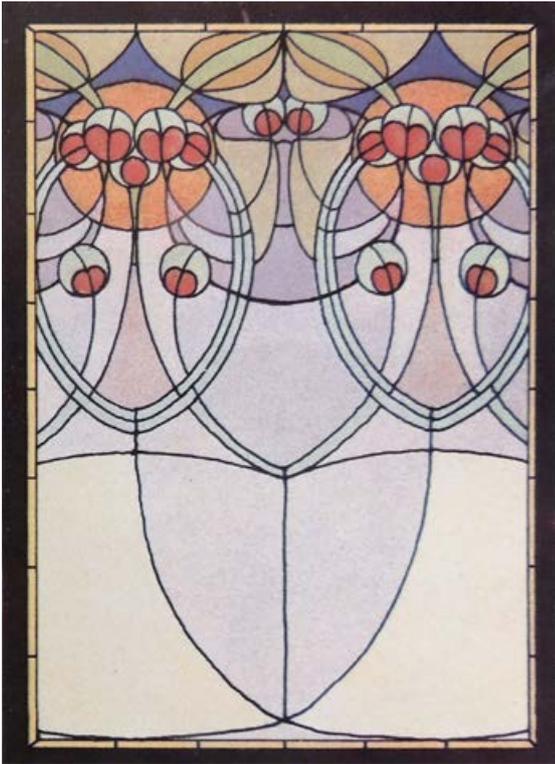
7. René Beauclair, stained glass design, early 20th century. Photo after: M.J. Gradl, R. Pochga, R. Waldraff, R. Beauclair, G.M. Ellwood, P. Lang, R. Geyling, J. Goller, R. Bacard, *Bunte Verglasungen*, Stuttgart, 1904.
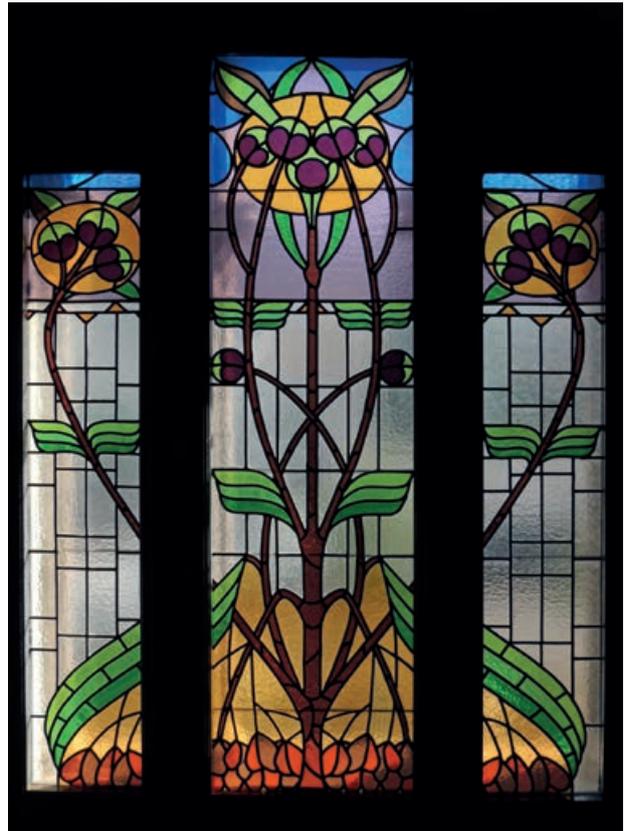
8. Rigalt & Granell Co., staircase window, c. 1906–1907, Girona, Cassà de la Selva, Can Nadal. Photo: N. Gil
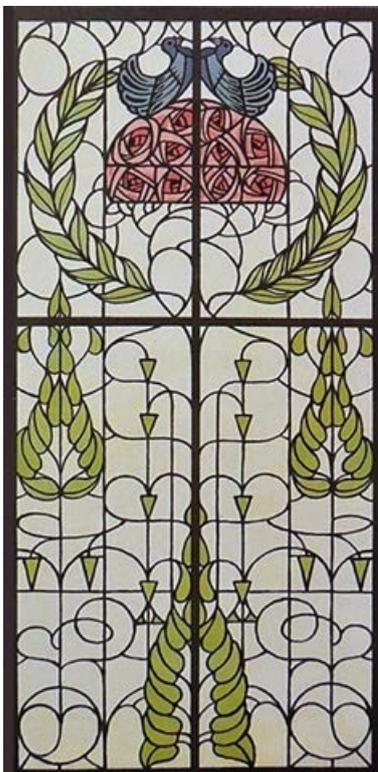
9. Josef Goller, stained glass design, early 20th century. Photo after: M.J. Gradl, R. Pochga, R. Waldraff, R. Beauclair, G.M. Ellwood, P. Lang, R. Geyling, J. Goller, R. Bacard, *Bunte Verglasungen*, Stuttgart, 1904
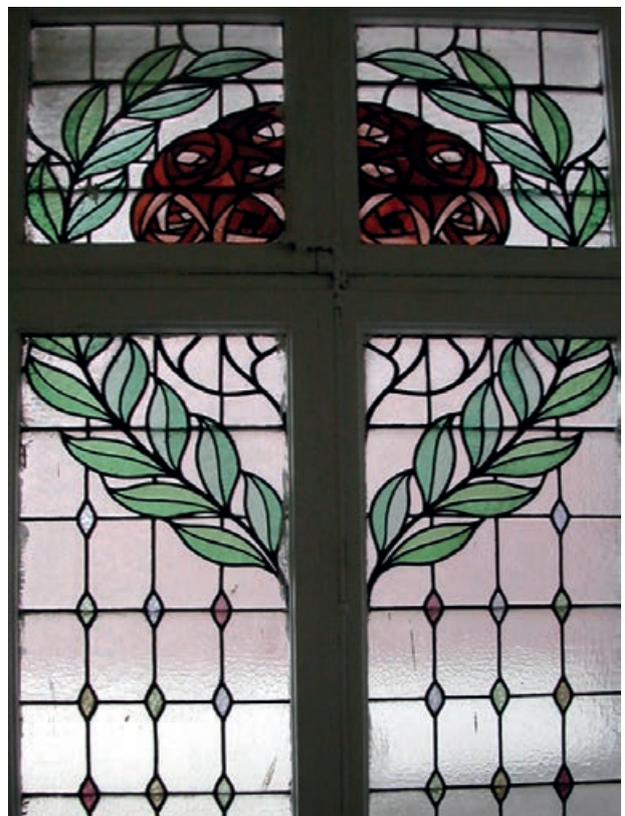
10. Rigalt & Granell Co., windows of a private house, 1904, Barcelona, 61 Gran de Gràcia. 1904. Photo: J. Bonet
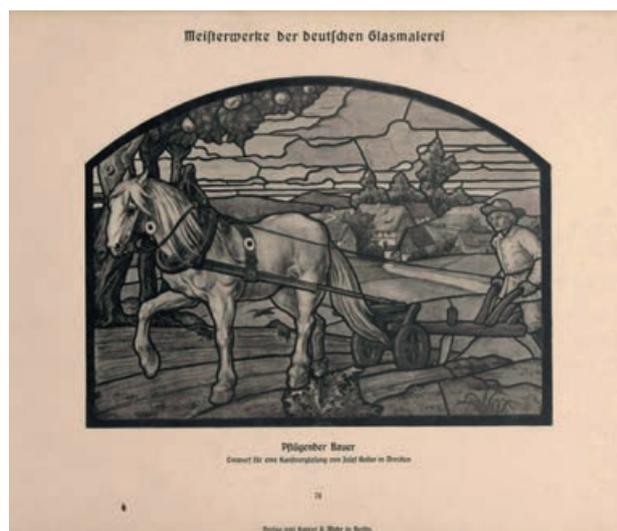
11. Josef Goller, *Ploughing farm*, carton for a window, Dresden, 1901. Photo after: *Meisterwerke der Deutschen Glasmelerei*, Leipzig, 1903

Hermann Göhler was professor at the Art School of Karlsruhe and a painter who stands out in landscape painting and illustration books.[17] The cover page of the 1901 *Deutsche Glasmalerei Ausstellung* is one of his works.

He drew the *Musengesang* (*Muses singing*) image, number 77 of this same volume. The stained-glass window was made by the painter Otto Vittali, who was born in Offenburg. His father was the stained-glass painter Otto Leopold Vittali, who came from Italy. Otto Vittali had studied at the Art Schools of Karlsruhe and Munich and had worked with the atelier Linnemann at Frankfurt am Main, before taking charge of the family company.

The big gallery of the house located at 582 Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes, in Barcelona, follows the design published in the German volume. It was made between 1902 and 1904 by Jeroni F. Granell [Fig. 13, 14].

The image number 90 of the same volume shows a composition called *Morning and evening* which was drawn by the German painter and graphic artist Auguste Nestler. The engraving images are signed by Auguste Nestler, but in the summary of the volume there also appears the tradesman and craftsman Berthold Welte, who collaborated in the work's creation with her.[18]

In this case the images of the cocks that are crowing or that have finished their day, are out of context and they are converted in isolated elements into a bigger and human landscape. The Rigalt and Granell workshop chose these cocks for two different works. One of them is in the El Pinar House (1902–1904) (architect Enric Sagnier) another in an impressive window located in the dining room
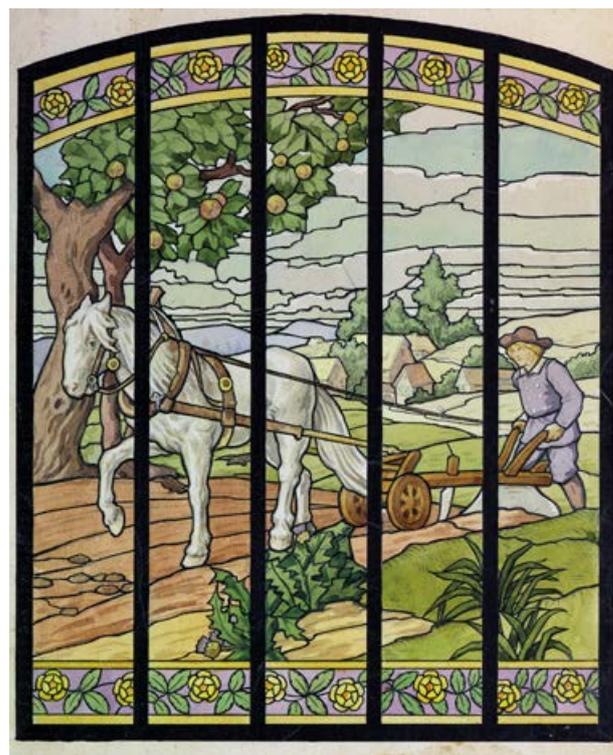
12. Rigalt, Granell & Co. *Plowing farmer*, early 20th century, Barcelona, Museu del Disseny, Fons Rigalt. Photo: Barcelona, Museu del Disseny

of the Lleó Morera House (1903–1905) (architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner), both of them in Barcelona. Here, the symbolic cocks of the German design are objects inside a human landscape that take up all the surface of the large window [Figs 15, 16].[19]

Richard Schlein, who was a member of the prestigious atelier of glass in Zittau published in the already cited volume (image number 50) a complex landscape that was used for a new work, today lost. It had been located in the windows of the Heribert Pons House, in Rambla de Catalunya (at present the Economic Department of the Government of Catalonia).[20] The engraving was preserved among the Catalan atelier papers, and it came from the same volume as the preceding images. There is an old photograph that shows the window. However, now there is in their place a stained-glass window from the Bonet atelier, design of Joan Vila-Grau.

The original composition has a lot of the typical elements of this period, where we can find human landscapes with roundabouts, springs and farm animals. In this case we can see one peacock in an architectural landscape that was made by Rigalt and Granell in 1907–1909 [Fig. 17, 18].

[17] http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/hermann-g%C3%B6hler/2 [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[18] http://www.ebay.es/itm/Auguste-Nestler-incendio-cromolitografia-1910-/272100153326 [retrieved 1 February 2019]; http://deacademic.com/dic.nsf/dewiki/162888 [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[19] The first image was also in the Casa Lleo Morera, but it was not preserved and another image of a cock was put in its place. See M. GARCIA MARTÍN, *La Casa Lleó Morera*, Barcelona, 1988, p. 33.

[20] http://templomablakanno.blog.hu/page/53 [retrieved 1 February 2019].

13. Rigalt, Granell & Co., *Muses singing*, 1902–1904, windows of a private house, Barcelona, 582 Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes. Photo: A. Vila i Delclòs

14. Hermann Göhler and Otto Vittali, *Muses singing*, Karlsruhe, 1901. Photo after: *Meisterwerke der Deutschen Glasmalerei*, Leipzig, 1903

The last work that we want to discuss from *Meisterwerke der Deutschen Glasmalerei* is a design by Johan Albert Lüthi.[21] He was a Swiss architect and glass painter who moved to Frankfurt in 1880 in order to work with Jonas Mylius and Alfred Friedrich Bluntschli in their architectural studio before he opened his own atelier, which attained a great deal of prestige.

The engraving number 18 of the German volume is a Saint George drawn by Johan Albert Lüthi. The Catalan version is in the chapel of Palau del Marquès d'Alella (Casa Muñoz Ramonet), in Barcelona. The background is made of colourless glass and the architectural features aren't the same structure of the original design, but the image of Saint George is the same that we can see in Lüthi's design.

The same image is also found in the chapel of Almudaina of Mallorca, done by an unknown author, but which can be attributed to the Rigalt atelier. The model is the same and the Mallorca version is more faithful to the original [Fig. 19, 20].

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[21] http://www.wikiwand.com/de/Johann_Albert_L%C3%BCthi [retrieved 1 February 2019]. See also J. VILA-GRAU, F. RODON, *Els vitrallers de la Barcelona Modernista*, Barcelona, 1982, p. 76.

15. Rigalt, Granell & Co., Windows of Casa Lleó Morera, Barcelona, 1903–1905, archival image, c. 1908. Photo after: M. GARCIA, *La Casa Lleó Morera*, Barcelona, 1988
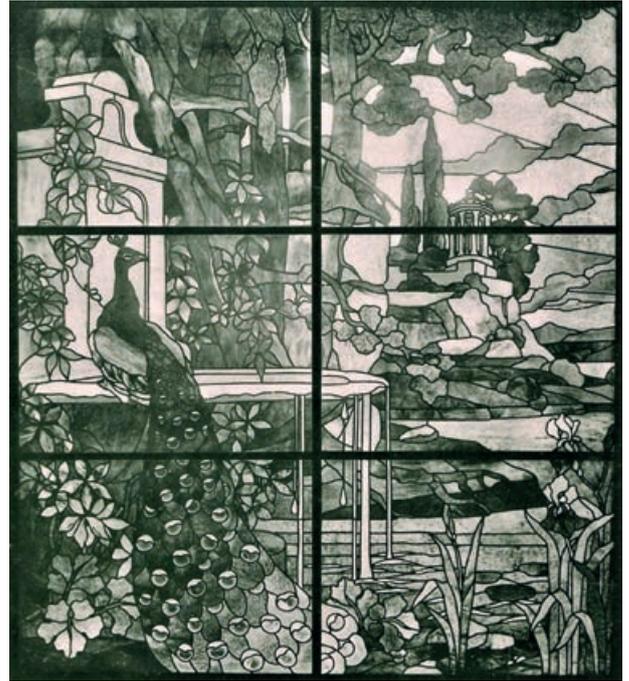
17. Richard Schlein, *Garden with pond, right ascending rocky terrain, well with peacock and a round temple*, Zittau, 1901. Photo after: *Meisterwerke der Deutschen Glasmelerei*, Leipzig, 1903
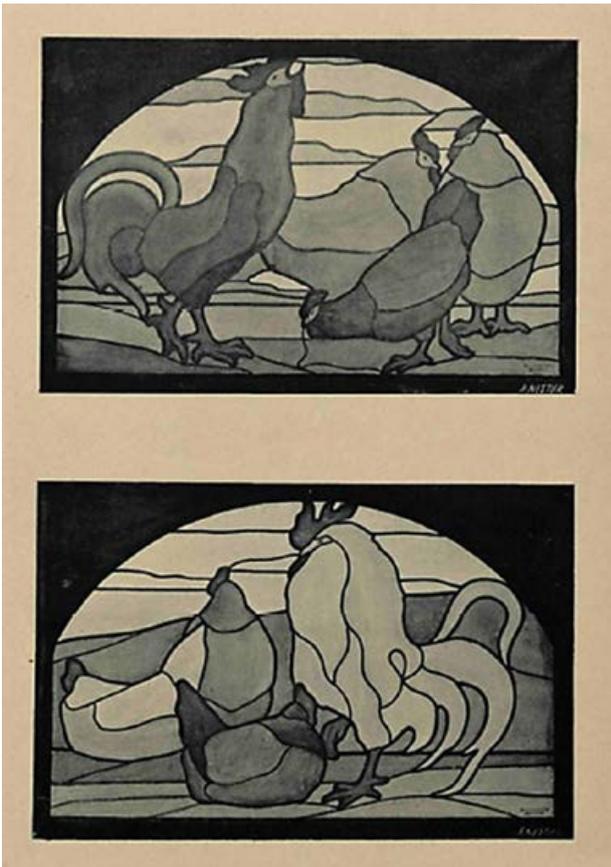
16. Auguste Nestler and Berthold Welde, *Morning and evening*, Karlsruhe, 1901. Photo after: *Meisterwerke der Deutschen Glasmalerei*, Leipzig, 1903

18. Rigalt, Granell & Co., design for a Window of Heribert Pons House, 1907–1909, Barcelona, Museu del Disseny, Fons Rigalt. Photo: Barcelona, Museu del Disseny
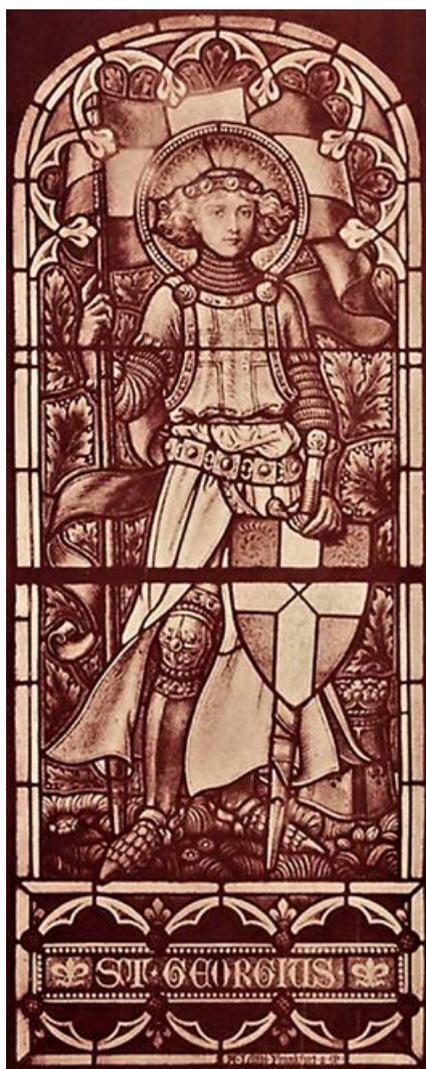
19. Albert Lüthi, *Saint George Stained glass window*, Zurich, 1901. Photo after: *Meisterwerke der Deutschen Glasmalerei*, Leipzig, 1903

20. Antoni Rigalt & Co., *Saint George*, Barcelona, 1903, Chapel of Palau del Marquès d'Alella, Muñoz Ramonet House. Photo: N. Gil

The German painter Robert Julius Beyschlag, who was connected with the Münchener Akademie, is the author of lyrical images where women with sensitive gestures are taking care of children or walking.[22]

A lot of woodcuts of his pictures were made at the turn of the twentieth century. Among them is *Spaziergang* (Walk), which was published in 1900 in the Gallerie Moderner Meister in Munich.[23] In it, there is a well-dressed woman who is walking along a forest road while gathering flowers.

The Catalan version is on the main stairway of the Maria Robert House (at 684 Gran Via, Barcelona). The building was built between 1888 and 1890 and was commissioned by Emília Artés. The architect was Salvador Vinyals i Sabaté [Figs 21, 22].[24]

In the Catalan stained-glass windows, there is the same woman that we can see in the German painting. There is a balustrade behind her and in the background there is a garden with flowers and a tree. The rural walk is here an urban item; she is at home, and she doesn't have the bouquet of wildflowers, but the sensitive gesture remains and the result is a stained-glass window of excellent quality that many researchers attribute to the Buxeras and Codorniu atelier. But this atelier was founded in 1905, and the building had been built some years earlier. In addition, a woodcut of this painting was found in the Rigalt and Granell atelier. For these reasons, we think the proper attribution is to Rigalt and Granell.

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[22] https://www.invaluable.com/artist/beyschlag-robert-julius-zklgg-b69ia [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[23] http://www.artnet.com/artists/robert-julius-beyschlag/a-lady-picking-flowers-in-a-landscape-lXBkhaX6qSywRtQYhqzLzQ2 [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[24] See: M. Garcia-Martin, *Vidrieras de un gran jardín de vidrios*, Barcelona, 1981, p. 36.

21. Rigalt & Granell Co., Staircase window in Maria Robert House, 1888–1890, Barcelona, 684 Gran Via. Photo: J. Bonet

23. Rigalt & Granell Co., *A la recherche du contact*, 1904, The Hague, Louwman Museum. Photo: D. van Rijswijk

22. Robert Julius Beyschlag, old photography of *Walk*, late 19th century, private collection. Photo: Barcelona, Museu del Disseny

The German painter Walter Thor (1870–1929), a portraitist and illustrator who lived in Munich, was a member of the *Jugend* magazine and the author of many advertising posters. Rigalt, Ganell & Co. acquired the reproduction

rights of it in 1904 and two years later, they made the window. It is in the Museum Louwman in The Hague, Holland, which exhibit cars and elements of the automobile industry.[25] The windows, with the double-meaning title, *Looking for a great contact*, is signed 'Granell Rigalt & Cia, Barcelona'. There isn't the big poster in the background with the printing company and we can see some changes in the figures in the forefront [Fig. 23].

We have a vast and varied range of German examples, but there are also models from other countries. In a Catalan private collection there are some images signed by the Czech painter František Urban, who studied at the School of Applied Arts in Prague.[26] He created a lot of religious masterpieces; his works includes the stained glass windows of Saint Barbara at the Saint Ludmila Church (Prague) where is found one of the images that we can see in the designs preserved in Catalonia.

The image on the design is Saint Barbara and is the same that we can find in Saint Ludmila Church. By

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[25] https://www.louwmanmuseum.nl/ [retrieved 1 February 2019].

[26] https://fineartamerica.com/products/angel-frantisek-urban-framed-print.html [retrieved 1 February 2019]; http://www.patriksimon.cz/autori-detail/frantisek-urban/160/ [retrieved 1 February 2019]; You can see the image of Saint Barbara in the Saint Ludmila Church of Prague at: https://www.shutterstock.com/nl/image-photo/prague-czech-republic-september-04-2014-234635977?src=e6qv4Ud4eKrjOQYrJaVuWg-1-73 [retrieved 1 February 2019].
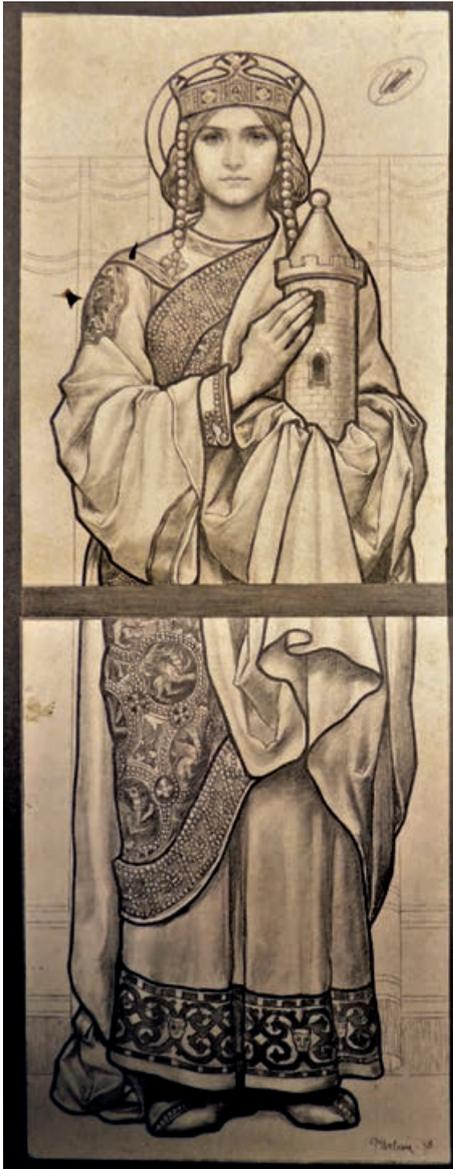
24. František Urban, design of stained glass window of St. Ludmila Church in Prague, Barcelona, 1889, private collection. Photo: N. Gil

25. Rigalt, Granell & Co. *Saints Helena and Henricus*, early 20th century, Barcelona, Museu del Disseny, Fons Rigalt. Photo: Barcelona, Museu del Disseny

contrast, the Rigalt and Granell design shows a Saint Helena. Portrayal of a different saint entailed changes in the attributes, and she has a cross instead of a tower, but is the same image [Figs 24, 25].

We would like to end this paper with the Czech painter and graphic artist Alphonse Mucha (1860–1939), who designed posters, jewellery, carpets, wallpapers, and stamps and created sets and costumes for the theatre.[27] As is usual in his works, women float through a landscape full of vegetation. Made in 1896, they are allegorical images of

seasons, in this case summer and autumn. The Catalan stained-glass windows, of 1903, were also made by the Antoni Rigalt & Cia atelier and now are located in a private house in Santander.

CONCLUSION

We have seen examples that come from international designs. These represent only one small part of the Rigalt and Granell production, but it is important to see the Modern concept that dominates the stained glasses in private houses, while the glass in churches remained neogothic in style.

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[27] https://www.laimprentacg.com/alfons-mucha-mucho-mas-que-el-cartelista-del-art-noveau/ [retrieved 1 February 2019].

It is relevant to see the great mobility of stained-glass artists throughout Europe and North America. They travelled in order to get to know pieces and European techniques or to participate in exhibitions. The absorption of the international models that they applied in their designs came from different sources. We want to highlight the importance, for the Catalan workshops' business, of acquiring European and American magazines and repertoires because they gave modernity to the pieces and made it possible to for the workshops to adapt their production to the tastes of their customers.

These models were sometimes copied, and others came from the local painters and architects who offered images that were combined in the workshops in order to make new stained-glass windows. Travel, magazines, repertoires, collaboration of workshops with painters and architects: these made possible a rich range of styles and techniques in the Catalan stained-glass windows of the early twentieth century.

Finally, it must be said that we have wanted to discuss these stained glasses, these reinterpretations, to emphasise the importance of international relations in order also to understand local productions.

SUMMARY

Sílvia Cañellas, Núria Gil
FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY STAINED GLASS WINDOWS OF CATALONIA

Keywords: stained glass, Modernism, Rigalt&Granell, Catalonia

This article aims to show how some Catalan designers of the early twentieth century used certain elements of the European arts to create new stained glass windows.

It is an evident fact, that neo-Gothic windows were influenced by the Gothic style. Also, some baroque windows took up some models from different works of other arts, but in the nineteenth century, this phenomenon was more frequent. There are in Barcelona some windows dating back to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, made by Catalan workshops, especially by Rigalt and Granell, the designs of which come from European works.

These represent only one small part of Rigalt and Granell's production, but it is important to see the Modern concept that dominates stained glass in private houses, while in churches the neogothic style remained.

The absorption of the international models that they applied in their designs came from different sources. We want to highlight the importance, for the Catalan workshops business, of acquiring European and American magazines and repertoires because they give modernity to the pieces and make it possible to adapt their production to the tastes of their customers.

It must be said that we have wanted to speak about these stained-glass windows, these reinterpretations, to emphasize the importance of international relations to understand also local productions.

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RESEARCH PROJECT *CORPUS VITREARUM –* *MEDIEVAL AND MODERN STAINED GLASS IN AUSTRIA.*

INVESTIGATIONS INTO AUSTRIAN STAINED GLASS AFTER 1800 AS PART OF A PILOT PROJECT AT THE AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Thanks to a research project at the Austrian Academy of Sciences with the title *Corpus Vitrearum – Medieval and modern stained glass in Austria*,[1] it has become possible for the first time in Austria, within the framework of the international research enterprise Corpus Vitrearum, to take a scientific look at stained glass after 1800 as well as to pursue research in medieval stained glass.[2] The project responds directly to the current developments within Corpus Vitrearum International.[3] For the time being, the scientific focus is only on the nineteenth century. In the course of the current project, topics have been formulated that essentially correlate with the major stylistic developments of the nineteenth century, that is, with the stained glass of Romanticism in the first half of the century and the stained glass of Historicism in the second half of the century. Over the course of the five-year project, a wide variety of scientific questions concerning artists, workshops, clients, style, dating and iconography is being examined on the basis of selected locations. The results at the end of the project form the scientific basis for further research in the field of stained glass research after 1800 in Austria.

An important thematic focus is dedicated to the revival of the art genre of stained glass in the first third of the nineteenth century.[4] The rediscovery of stained glass around 1800 took place against the background of the creation of an extensive new architectural landscape within the large park of Laxenburg in Lower Austria, close to the gates of the royal capital of Vienna. The greatest attention was paid to a garden building, which was to present itself 'in the form of a gothic Veste'[5] and which was later called Franzensburg after its donor Emperor Franz II/I. Both in terms of its basic architectural disposition and the furnishing elements, the building was romantically transfigured as a replica of a medieval castle complex. In the eyes of contemporaries, this project seems to have been a complete success. In 1823 the building was described as a medieval castle in Tyrol, where Emperor Maximilian I liked to stay.[6] This kind of romantically transfigured fusion of old and new was effected in the park area of Laxenburg on the most diverse levels of content.

Initially, Franzensburg Castle, which was also called the 'New Knight's Castle' by contemporaries, was to have an equivalent in a replica of the Habsburg family's ancestral castle in Switzerland, which was referred to as the 'Old Knight's Castle in its ruins'.[7] This construction project was

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[1] The project runs for five years from March 2015 to February 2020 and is being carried out by Christina Wais-Wolf and Günther Buchinger (Austrian National Committee of the Corpus Vitrearum).

[2] In the course of the project, the sixth volume of the Austrian *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* series on the medieval stained glass of Styria (part II) will also be prepared.

[3] At the 28th International Conference of the Corpus Vitrearum in Troyes in July 2016, the guidelines for the research and edition of stained glass paintings after 1800 were adopted.

[4] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was no significant stained glass painting production in Austria.

[5] L. Hanzl, 'Die Franzensburg. "Vollkommene Ritterburg" und "Denkmal Franz I."', in *Die Franzensburg in Laxenburg. Ein Führer durch Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Laxenburg, 1998, p. 36.

[6] R. Wagner-Rieger, 'Die Baugeschichte der Franzensburg in Laxenburg', in *Ausstellungskatalog Romantische Glasmalerei in Laxenburg*, Vienna, 1962, p. 18.

[7] Both buildings are thus identified in a watercoloured ink drawing with the overall ground plan of the park, around 1807–1810. Shown and described in *Der malerische Landschaftspark in*
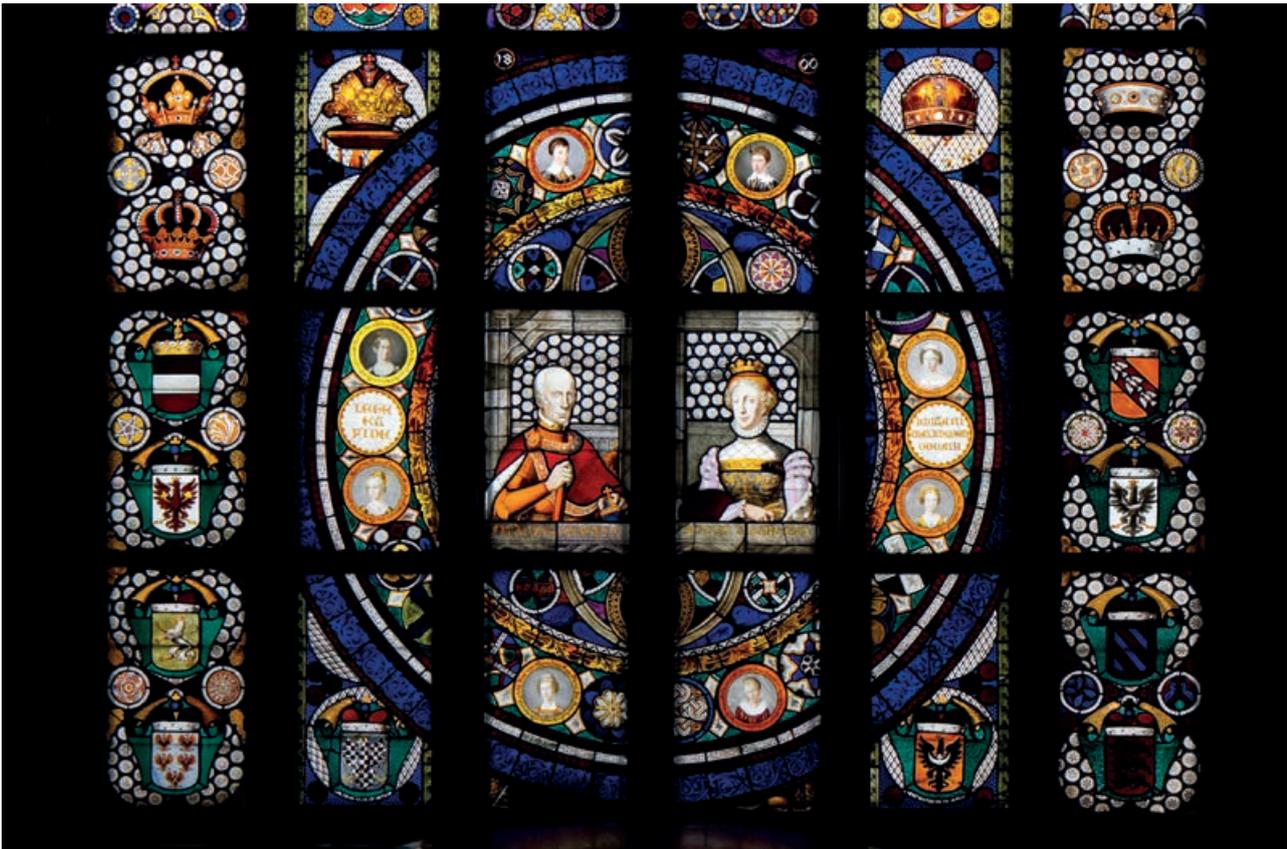
1. Gottlob Samuel Mohn, Dining room window with portraits of the imperial couple Franz I and Maria Theresia as well as eight of their children, coats of arms and crowns, 1822–1824, Laxenburg, Franzensburg. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

not completed. The combination of the two buildings was intended to achieve a sentimental romantic visualization of the long history of the House of Habsburg.[8]

In the area of Franzensburg, this merger was achieved on the one hand by consciously integrating medieval spolia – in addition to architectural elements and paintings, also stained glass panels from various locations in Vienna and in Lower and Upper Austria[9] – into the new castle complex. On the other hand, the composition and motifs of most of the newly created pictorial works were modelled on medieval and early modern real models in order to give them the appearance of old age. Besides these thoughts of a medieval cult, as it corresponded to the zeitgeist of Romanticism, another aspect has to be deemed essential, especially against the background of the prominence of the donor Emperor Franz II/I. One may get the

impression that Emperor Franz, through the medium of stained-glass painting – the stained-glass windows of the second furnishing phase from 1821 onwards are the focus of attention here[10] – was not only pursuing the purely external aim of presenting himself in medieval costume and pose according to the taste of the time [Fig. 1]. Rather, there is the suspicion that he wanted to achieve an unconditional fusion of his own person with important Habsburg ancestors through the targeted copying of late medieval and early modern portraits of Habsburg rulers, as they had been handed down through portraits of Emperor Friedrich III and Maximilian I. The old and the new would thus have entered into an interesting exchange, whereby the new could form a particular synthesis by merging with the old.

Especially against the background of the current project's thematic focus – research on medieval and modern stained glass at the same time – a synopsis of medieval and modern glass painting in its original context seems particularly worthwhile. Questions on iconography and iconology will therefore be treated in the course of the project on an equal footing with questions about the glass

Laxenburg bei Wien, ed. by G. Hajós, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar, 2006, p. 69.

[8] See in detail ibidem, pp. 77–80.

[9] For the original provenance of these medieval stained glass paintings and their present location at Franzensburg Chastle see G. Buchinger, E. Oberhaidacher-Herzig, C. Wais-Wolf, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Niederösterreich*, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar, 2017 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Österreich, V, 2), pp. 189–229.

[10] All windows of the first furnishing phase around 1800 have been lost, and only drawings and written sources provide clues to the iconography of these windows.

painters working in Laxenburg from 1800 and the analysis of technical developments in this early phase of the revival of this art genre of stained glass in Austria.[11]

The windows of the throne room (1821/1822) and the dining room (1822/1824), which were designed by the Saxon glass painter Gottlob Samuel Mohn (1789–1825), are particularly suitable for iconographic analysis [Figs 1, 2].[12] The question arises to what extent the changed historical developments of the time after the establishment of the Austrian Empire in 1804 had an impact on the iconography of these picture windows. After all, with the acceptance of the title of hereditary Emperor of Austria, Franz had placed himself at the head of an association of kingdoms and countries over which the successive head of the Habsburg family ruled from then on. At the same time, by accepting the title of Emperor, which was independent of any election and territory, Franz actually claimed to be the only legitimate witness of the Roman imperial tradition.

In the case of the throne room window, Emperor Franz presents himself standing in a suit of golden armour under an architectural canopy [Fig. 2a]. The Emperor's golden armour evokes associations with portraits of Emperor Maximilian I,[13] while the type of 'standing, harnessed regent' under the architectural canopy reminds one of statues such as that of Emperor Friedrich III on the east wall of the Wiener Neustadt castle chapel, which is located only a few kilometres south of Laxenburg [Fig. 3]. For the statue in Wiener Neustadt, from the year 1453, the historical circumstance is of interest that Friedrich – despite the fact that he had been crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome a year earlier – had himself consciously depicted as Archduke of Austria in his residence in Wiener Neustadt. The decisive factor for this was the final confirmation of the so-called Privilegium maius, i.e. that of the Austrian Duke Rudolf IV (1358–1365), which, in a way, made possible a special status for his house domains, i.e. the priority of the Austrian patrimonial countries within the Imperial Union.[14]

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[11] For the picture programme of the Lorraine Hall see C. WAIS-WOLF, 'Habsburgisch-lothringische Mythenbildung unter Kaiser Franz II. (I.) (1768–1835). Überlegungen zur Medialität der Glasmalereifolge des Lothringersaales der Franzensburg in Laxenburg', in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien*, 69, 2017, no. 3, pp. 14–22.

[12] In the case of the window of the dining room, the execution was carried out together with the painter Ludwig Ferdinand Schnorr von Carolsfeld, whose signature can be found several times in the window with that of S. Mohn and J. Prechtl: 1c, 1d, 2b (2x), 2e.

[13] Recall the portrait of Maximilian I in golden armour, painted by Bernhard Strigel before 1508. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Inv.-Nr. 4403, https://www.khm.at/de/object/1177967c79/ [retrieved 1 January 2019].

[14] In the following centuries, the title of Archduke of Austria formed a fundamental pillar of Habsburg power politics, in that it was intended to safeguard hereditary possessions and claims to power inextricably linked to the family in times when the Habsburgs'

2. Gottlob Samuel Mohn, Throne room, central window with portraits of Emperor Franz I and his two sons, Archdukes Ferdinand and Franz Karl, 1821–1822; in the tracery medieval stained glass from the Charterhouse of Gaming, 1340/1350, Laxenburg, Franzensburg Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

In the throne room window, the sons of Emperor Franz wear the ermine-lined and ermine collar cloak of the Austrian Archdukes. However, the coat of Emperor Franz does not seem to correspond to any real existing model. Although it has the ermine lining of the archducal coat, the upper part in the area of the coat clasp resembles the coat on historical depictions of Habsburg Emperors.[15] In the picture window, Franz's crown is the Rudolfine House Crown [Fig. 2a], which had served the Habsburgs since Rudolf II to mark their dignity as Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, and which had been chosen by Franz

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status as Holy Roman Emperors depended on election. It was still worn by the Habsburg rulers in the eighteenth century before all other titles. In the Grand Title of the Emperor of Austria, the Archduke's title also occupied a prominent position immediately after the royal titles.

[15] The official coat of the Austrian Empire as depicted in the portrait of Friedrich von Amerling from 1832 (see note 22) was only made in 1830 on the occasion of the coronation of Archduke Ferdinand as the 'younger King of Hungary', and could not be used as a model for the throne room window.

2a. Gottlob Samuel Mohn, *Emperor Franz I*, 1821–1822, Throne room window in the Franzensburg. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

3. *Emperor Friedrich III as Archduke*, 1453, Wiener Neustadt, Castle, St George's Chapel, Heraldic wall. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

as the official crown of the Austrian Empire. Use of this crown was intended to extol the Austrian Emperor to the greatest extent possible as successor to the Holy Roman Emperor.

In Franzensburg, this crown was depicted a second time in the dining room window [Fig. 4]. On both windows we can find a revealing detail. This is the two small cones attached to the lateral surfaces of the mitre, their shape reminiscent of pine cones. Such pine cones adorn the throne architecture in the audience portrait of Emperor Franz II, which was painted in 1792 on the occasion of his election and coronation as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.[16] By adding this symbol-laden motif[17], the new Austrian Empire, whose sovereign was Emperor Franz at the time the throne room window was created, is placed all the more in the tradition of the Holy Roman Empire. A reference to the old 'Holy Roman Empire' is also provided by the sceptre depicted on the picture window, at the top of which sits a double-headed eagle wearing a crown. Franz II/I had adopted the motif of the double-headed eagle for the coat of arms of the new Austrian Empire and for the Austrian imperial coat as well.

Such a reference to the Middle Ages, which took place on different levels of symbolism,[18] made the Habsburgs' claim to Imperial government, which had existed for centuries, all the more compelling.

The inclusion of the medieval stained-glass windows already existing at that time in the tracery of the throne room window forms an important point of reference for the iconography of this picture window in its entirety. Contemporaries might have been interested in two aspects of content. On the one hand, the origin of the glass paintings was in the Charterhouse of Gaming, whose foundation by Julius Max Schottky, the author of an elaborate description of Franzensburg in 1821, was interestingly associated with Duke Rudolph IV instead of Duke

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[16] Oil on canvas, 163 x 125 cm, Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Kunstsammlungen, Inv.-Nr. StE. 3555, painted by Friedrich Heinrich Füger, Vienna 1792, illustrated in *Ausstellungskatalog Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806. Altes Reich und neue Staaten 1495 bis 1806*, vol. 1: *Catalogue*, Berlin, 2006, fig. on p. 238.

[17] Reference is made here to the pine cone of the Palatine Chapel of Aachen, which was generally interpreted – with regard to its ancient model in the Cortile della Pigna in Rome – as a sign for the New Rome in Aachen, i.e. the important coronation site for the German kings.

[18] In this context, the fact that Franz II was mythically transfigured by contemporaries into the 'new' Maximilian I at his coronation as Roman-German Emperor in Frankfurt seems to be worth mentioning. See R. HAASER, 'Das Zeremoniell der beiden letzten deutsch-römischen Kaiserkrönungen in Frankfurt am Main und seine Rezeption zwischen Spätaufklärung und Frühromantik', in *Zeremoniell als Höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. by J. J. Berns, T. Rahn, Tübingen, 1995, pp. 617–619.

4. Gottlob Samuel Mohn, *Crown of the Austrian Empire*, 1822–1824, Dining room window in the Franzensburg, detail. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl
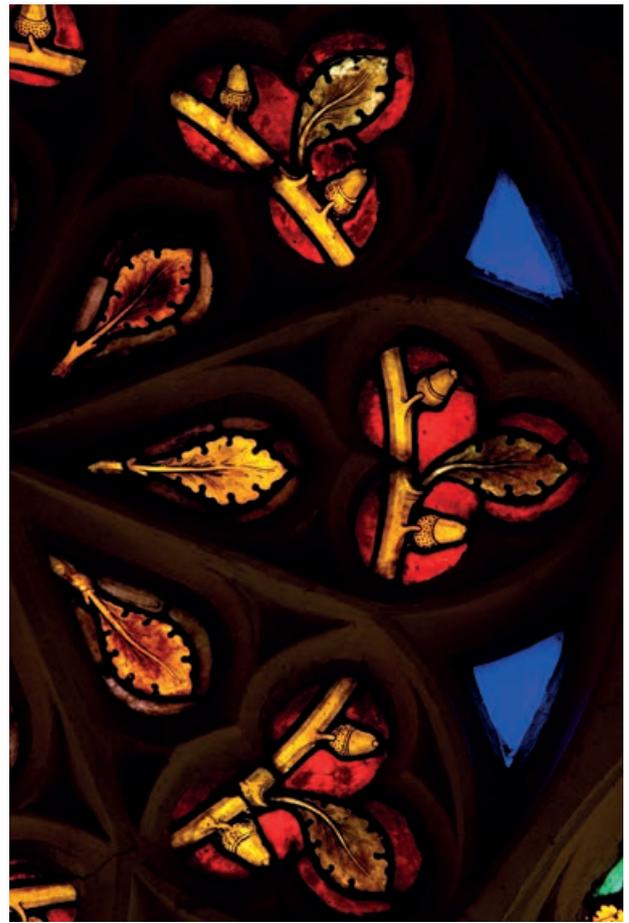
5. Medieval stained glass from the Charterhouse of Gaming, 1340/1350, Throne room window, tracery, detail. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

Albrecht II. On the other hand there are the motifs, depicting a wreath of golden acorns in the most glorious purple [Fig. 5], as can be read in Schottky's description.[19]

The reference back to the Habsburg ancestor Duke Rudolph IV, who – as Schottky puts it – founded the monastery 'so richly, shielded and protected it with persevering preference', seems remarkable[20] and astonishingly coincides with what has previously been said about the various levels of reference with regard to the type of depiction of Emperor Franz II/I in the window of the throne room. The explicit reference to the motif of the acorns is also of interest, especially as oak leaf twigs and acorns comprise

a prominent element of the iconography of the Austrian Empire. Such branches can be found on the regalia of the Order of Leopold endowed by Emperor Franz I in 1808[21] as well as on the Austrian Emperor's Coat, which was not made until 1830.[22] This would also establish the iconographic reference to the third large window in Franzensburg, the window in the Louisenzimmer created by Samuel Mohn in 1824, which shows the investiture ceremony of the first inductees of the Order of Leopold, painted ac-

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[19] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms Fid. 5858a (vol. 1): J.M. Schottky, *Das kaiserlich königliche Lustschloß Laxenburg*, Laxenburg, 1821, without p.

[20] In the case of the Charterhouse of Gaming, Rudolph IV only confirmed the privileges and possessions of the monastery, which had already been founded by his father, Duke Albrecht II. The glass paintings in the tracery of the throne room window actually date from the time of Albrecht II around 1340/1350. See G. Buchinger, E. Oberhaidacher-Herzig, C. Wais-Wolf, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde*, pp. 189–192 (as in note 9).

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[21] Johann Baptist Hoechle, *Kaiser Franz I. als Großmeister des Leopoldsordens*, 1811, Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Neue Galerie Graz, Inv. no. I/867, illustrated in *Exhibition catalogue Kaisertum Österreich 1804–1848*, Schallaburg 27.4.–27.10.1996, Bad Vöslau, 1996, p. 156, pl. 58; p. 296, cat.no. 6.27 or *Ornat eines Ritters des Leopoldsordens Grosskreuz*, p. 157, pl. 60; p. 296, cat.no. 6.28. See also: https://www.museum-joanneum.at/neue-galerie-graz/ausstellungen/ausstellungen/rundgang-wer-bist-du/raum-01/kaiser-franz-i [retrieved 1 January 2019].

[22] Friedrich von Amerling, *Kaiser Franz I. (II.) von Österreich im österreichischen Kaiserornat*, 1832, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Inv.Nr. 8618: https://www.khm.at/de/object/daea32adca/ [retrieved 1 January 2019].

6. Gottlob Samuel Mohn, *Maria Theresia from Naples-Sicily*, 1813, provenance unknown. Photo: Auktionshaus im Kinsky GmbH, Vienna

cording to a design by the chamber painter Johann Baptist Hoechle.

It seems as if the medieval stained-glass spolia of Franzensburg was also placed in a new context as a result of the reorientation of the content of the second furnishing phase. Whereas around 1800 the primary focus was on the romantic sentimental reflection of a Roman-German Emperor from the House of Habsburg on his own family history, which stretched back centuries to the Middle Ages, in the case of the second furnishing phase the medieval spolia served to underpin the claim to legitimacy of a dominion which was newly erected, yet built upon the foundation of glorious ancestors. Through the metaphorical 'touch' of the new and the old – whereby the new also moved within a strictly prescribed frame of reference for composition and iconography in medieval glass painting – the past was not only staged as a romantic fairy tale, but also brought into the present in order to create – and this may be understood as the decisive point – a solid foundation for the newly founded political structure. The

iconography chosen for the two windows seems to have been subjected in many details to the attempt to legitimize the then still young emperorship.

Important additions to the current research are new discoveries of glass paintings which had been in private possession and whose existence had not been known of. Two such new discoveries are directly related to the commissioning of glass paintings for Laxenburg. The first of these is a privately owned stained-glass painting, which entered the art market in 2015, depicting the second wife of Emperor Franz II/I, Maria Theresa of Naples-Sicily, dated 1813 [Fig. 6].[23] It could have been created in connection with the first commissioning of Gottlob Samuel Mohn for the Franzensburg in 1813. In May of that year, Mohn was commissioned to remove the heavily weathered oil painting, which had been made around 1800, from the Franzensburg stained glass and replace it with burnt-in painting.[24] The order was placed only after the Emperor had seen several pieces of Mohn's work for himself.[25] Mohn's activity in Laxenburg in 1813 lasted only two months.[26]

In addition, two stained-glass panels with depictions of Turin (*Circus in front of Stupinigi Castle near Turin* and *Piazza Vittorio Veneto in Turin*) [Fig. 7], both signed by the Viennese landscape painter Carl Geyling (1814–1880), were auctioned at the Dorotheum Auction House in autumn 2018.[27] Their existence was not known of until then. Interestingly, they show – with slight deviations in the motifs – the same subjects as two glass paintings that have been present since 1964 in Franzensburg Castle in the passage to the Hungarian Coronation Hall [Fig. 8].[28] These

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[23] *Catalogue of the 107th Art Auction (17.6.2015) at the Auction House in Kinsky*, no. 662.

[24] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (HHStA), Obersthofmeisteramt (OMeA) 1813/Nr. 66, Laxenburger Direktion an Obersthofmeisteramt, Laxenburg, 19.05.1813. - HHStA, SH Lbg., Fasz. 17, 1813/Rg. Nr. 150, O. H., Obersthofmeisteramt an Laxenburger Direktion, Vienna, 23.05.1813.

[25] Ibidem.

[26] HHStA, SH Lbg., Fasz. 17, 1813/Rg. Nr. 226, Beil. A, O. H., *Monatsjournal der Laxenburger Direktion für Juni 1813*, Laxenburg, 30.06.1813.- HHStA, SH Lbg., Fasz. 17, 1813/Rg. Nr. 275, Beil. A, O. H., *Monatsjournal der Laxenburger Direktion für Juli 1813*, Laxenburg, 31.07.1813.- HHStA, SH Lbg., Fasz. 17, 1813/Rg. Nr. 310, Beil. A, O. H., *Monatsjournal der Laxenburger Direktion für August 1813*, undated.

[27] See Dorotheum auction catalogue of 2.10.2018, pp. 130–133 (with a catalogue contribution by A. Waldstein-Wartenberg-Spengler).

[28] Archiv des Bundesdenkmalamtes, Landeskonservatorat Niederösterreich, Ordner Laxenburg 7 (184/1964), Rechnung der Fa. Geyling, Vienna, 7.12.1964. The stained glass painting with the representation of Stupinigi Castle was first inserted in the folding door to the balcony, was later removed and is now presented as an exhibit in a museum frame. The author thanks DI Wolfgang Mastny, Schloss Laxenburg Betriebsgesellschaft, for valuable information.

7. Carl Geyling (signed), *Piazza Vittorio Veneto in Turin*, probably from the pavilion on Marianneninsel in Laxenburg, 1840/1841. Photo: DOROTHEUM

8. Rudolf Geyling (?), *Piazza Vittorio Veneto in Turin*, denoted by *K. Geyling. Wien 1842*, today in Franzensburg, probably a copy after the original by Carl Geyling, c. 1890/1900. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

two panels are signed and dated with *K. Geyling. Vienna 1842*. In the literature,[29] they are indisputedly related to the glass paintings that the then young landscape painter Geyling created for two rooms of the newly-built pavilion on Marianneninsel in the park in 1840/1841.[30] For the first of these rooms, the 'Salon', Geyling created eighteen glass paintings with views of famous buildings from cities of the Austrian Monarchy (Vienna, Venice, Milan and others[31]) and for the other, the 'Cabinet', five glass paintings 'with depictions of several pleasure palaces, and villas in Turin and its surroundings'.[32] The two above-mentioned

representations of Turin therefore belong to the cabinet's stained glass collection. The date 1842 noted on these panels, which are now situated in Franzensburg Castle, has not heretofore aroused any suspicion among researchers, although it was known that Carl Geyling's glass paintings for the pavilion on Marianneninsel could hardly have been made in 1842, but must have been created earlier, on the basis of the building data – the laying of the foundation stone had taken place on 29.8.1840, and the ceremonial inauguration of the pavilion on 27.7.1841.[33] The drawing of the glass paintings in the Franzensburg Castle is of painterly quality, and the application of particularly colourful, brightly shining paints (blue, green, violet) [Fig. 9] is striking, as Elgin Vaassen has already pointed out.[34] According to a written source from 1903, which refers to the eighteen panels from the salon of the pavilion on Marianneninsel, the glass paintings of Carl Geyling were executed with 'transparent lacquer paints'[35] that had not been burned in. By the end of the nineteenth century,

[29] J. ZYKAN, *Laxenburg*, Vienna and Munich, 1969, p. 96 and fig. 81 (Schloss Stupinigi); M. KRISTAN, *Die monumentale Glasmalerei der Romantik, des Historismus und des Jugendstils in Österreich*, MA diss., University of Vienna, 1986, p. 44; E. VAASSEN, *Bilder auf Glas. Glasgemälde zwischen 1780 und 1870*, Munich and Berlin, 1997, p. 66.

[30] HHStA, Herrschaft Laxenburg, Fasz. 14, Eingabe des Schloßhauptmannes Michael Riedl, without a place and undated (February 1840); HHStA, Herrschaft Laxenburg, Fasz. 14, Ausweis, Laxenburg, 18.2.1840; HHStA, Herrschaft Laxenburg, Fasz. 14, Individueller Ausweis der Familienfondsbuchhaltung, Vienna, 1.2.1843.

[31] These eighteen stained glass paintings have been stored in the Hofmobiliendepot, Vienna, since 1903. The author thanks Dr. Eva B. Ottillinger, Bundesministerium für Digitalisierung und Wirtschaftsstandort, Vienna, for permission to inspect these paintings on site.

[32] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms Bibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. S. n. 13.083, *5858, Franz Carl Weidmann, Der Park von Lachsenburg,

undated (1840/1841), pp. 15–16/appendix (old pagination).

[33] Ibidem, p. 12 and p. 17/appendix (old pagination). Weidmann expressly writes that with the inauguration in July 1841 the building was completed, so it may be assumed that the glass paintings of Carl Geyling were already inserted at that time.

[34] E. VAASSEN, *Bilder auf Glas*, p. 66 (as in note 29), writes that Geyling, for example, used a 'poisonous' turquoise for the green of the trees.

[35] HHStA, OmeA 1903/r. 43/C/9, Schloßhauptmannschaft Laxenburg an Obersthofmeisteramt, Laxenburg, 2.9.1903, Äußerung des Departements VI, Vienna, 29.9.1903 (on the back).
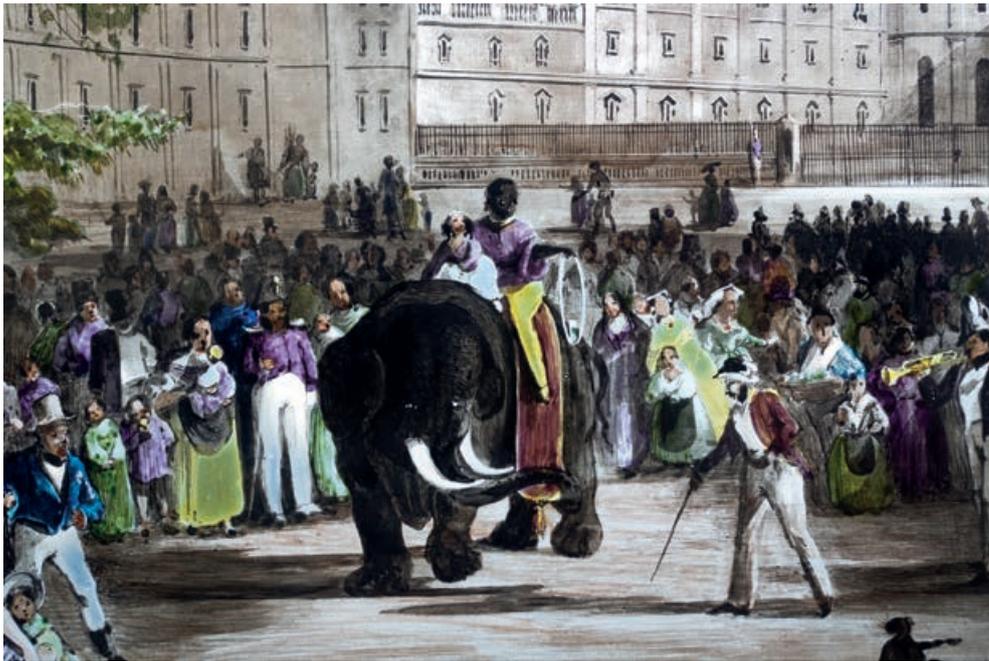
9. Rudolf Geyling (?), *Circus in front of Stupinigi Castle near Turin*, c. 1890/1900, detail, today in Franzensburg, probably a copy after the original by Carl Geyling, Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

the binder in the paints had already weathered to such an extent that only 'the earthy dye was left behind'.[36]

It is noteworthy that the condition and quality of the painting mentioned in the written sources correspond not only very precisely to the state of the painting on the eighteen glass paintings of the salon, but also to that on the two glass paintings of the Dorotheum. In contrast to the burned-in painting of the stained-glass paintings now in Laxenburg, the cold painting of the panels from the Dorotheum is also not burned-in. Moreover, the painting of these two stained-glass panels is already heavily weathered and shows exactly the 'earthy impression'[37] described in the historical sources [Fig. 10].

The written source from 1903 further reports that attempts by the Geyling company – then under the direction of the painter Rudolf Geyling – to restore the glass paintings in 1890 and 1894 failed.[38] In 1897 the eighteen stained-glass panels of the salon were therefore removed and handed over to the Hofmobiliendepot (Imperial Furniture Collection) in 1903.[39] The five glass paintings of the cabinet, on the other hand, are still mentioned as being *in situ* in an inventory from 1918.[40] A photo album belonging to the inventory shows four of the stained-glass windows that existed in the pavilion on Marianneninsel at that time, including the two panels now on display in the Franzensburg Castle, dated Vienna 1842.[41] The historical photographs show that these two stained-glass panels in the Franzensburg Castle today were used *in situ* at least as early as 1918, but do not prove their historical date of origin according to their inscription in 1842. Doubts as to their actual age are expressed on the basis of various observations.

First of all, the differences in the style of painting are evident. While the drawing of the two glass paintings from the Dorotheum is characterised by a very painterly quality and meticulous attention to detail, the painting of the two glass paintings in Franzensburg Castle is characterised by a pronounced line and stroke style that concentrates much less on individual details. For stylistic

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[36] HHStA, OmeA 1903/r. 43/C/9, Verwaltung des Hofmobilien- und Materialdepots an Obersthofmeisteramt, Vienna, 17.10.1903.

[37] Ibidem.

[38] Ibidem; Archiv der Bundesmobilienverwaltung (BMobV), Inventar der Franzensburg, der Gartenmeierei, des Pavillons auf der Marianneninsel und der Rittergruft in Laxenburg vom 15.6.1918, Album III, p. 119 (Mariannenpavillon, Erstes Zimmer).

[39] HHStA, OmeA 1903/r. 43/C/9 (as in note 35). - BMobV, Inventar von 1918 (as in note 38), Album II, p. 119.

[40] BMobV, Inventar von 1918 (as in note 38), Album III, p. 121 (*Mariannenpavillon, Zweites Zimmer*). During a revision in January 1925, only four glass paintings were found on Marianneninsel; the fifth glass painting was already deposited in the glazier's workshop of the Schlosshauptmannschaft at that time. The same five stained-glass paintings with 'views from the Kingdom of Sardinia, Master: Sign. Karl Geyling Vienna 1842' are later mentioned again in an inventory from the year 1940. See Archiv des Bundesdenkmalamtes, Topographische Akten, Niederösterreich, Laxenburg, Karton 40/2, Fasz. Laxenburg Schloss IV, Zl. 2162/1940, Verzeichnis A.

[41] BMobV, Inventar von 1918 (as in note 38), Album II, Blatt 47, photograph nos. 154–157.
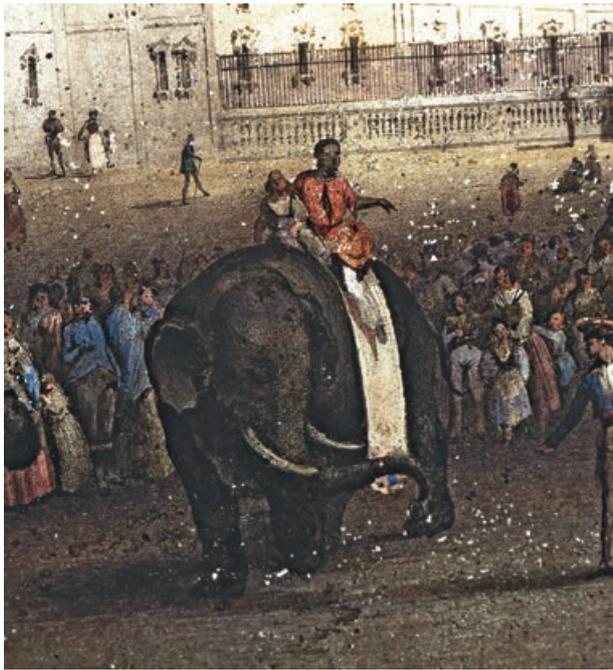
10. Carl Geyling, *Circus in front of Stupinigi Castle near Turin*, 1840/1841, detail, probably from the pavilion on Marianneninsel in Laxenburg. Photo: DOROTHEUM

11a. Signature of Carl Geyling, *Piazza Vittorio Veneto in Turin*, 1840/1841, detail. Photo: DOROTHEUM; 11b. Rudolf Geyling (?), probably copied after the original signature of Carl Geyling, *Circus in front of Stupinigi Castle near Turin*, c. 1890/1900, detail. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

reasons, it is hardly conceivable that both works were created by the same artist. A glance at the different signatures reinforces this impression. While the signature on the panels from the Dorotheum undoubtedly corresponds to that of Carl Geyling [Fig. 11a], the signature on the panels today in Franzensburg Castle, with its slight leftward orientation [Fig. 11b], cannot be assigned to the same artist. It is much more reminiscent of the signatures of the painter Rudolf Geyling, who headed the glass workshop, as successor to his uncle Carl Geyling, from 1880 to 1904 during which time the documented restoration attempts on the stained glass panels of the pavilion on Marianneninsel were undertaken. It is therefore possible that the paintings that exist today in the Franzensburg Castle are copies made by Rudolf Geyling during the course of his restoration work. In 1903 Rudolf Geyling in any case demonstrably suggested such a copying of the originals in connection with the eighteen glass paintings of the salon of the pavilion on Marianneninsel.[42] The result would be

that the original glass paintings of Carl Geyling from the cabinet of the pavilion on Marianneninsel, which were offered to the Dorotheum in 2018, could have been sold to the art trade or passed into private hands,[43] while the two stained-glass panels in Laxenburg today are copies from the late nineteenth century. Further research may in future shed clearer light on this case. It is also not known whether or where the other stained-glass paintings of the cabinet, which originally consisted of five panels, have been preserved or are located now.

The two stained-glass panels from the Dorotheum are great discoveries, since they are not only of great importance for the history of stained-glass painting in Laxenburg, but also considerably enrich our knowledge of the techniques of stained-glass painting in Austria in the nineteenth century. The glass workshop of Carl Geyling soon developed into the largest glass painting company in the country, supplying stained glass windows to all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

In the west of the country, a second important workshop for Austria was founded in 1861, the *Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaikanstalt* (Tyrolean Glass Painting

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[42] In the historical source is to be read: 'Since a satisfactory restoration cannot be achieved, and only a few sketches are to be found among Geyling's heirs for the glass paintings mentioned above, it would be appropriate to protect these paintings from further spoilage, as it is still the case, even with the most damaged pieces, the detailed drawing is to be seen clearly silhouetted and thus after these models new durable copies could be produced later [...] The costs of the new production of durable copies under cover glass with lead frames would amount to 240 crowns per piece

with the small pictures and with the large ones to 400 crowns per piece according to the attached certificates and estimate of the company Geylings' Erben'. HHStA, OmeA 1903/r. 43/C/9 (as in note 36).

[43] Both glass paintings were first sold in 1939 at the Dorotheum Auction House. Archive Dorotheum, purchase on 17.1.1939.
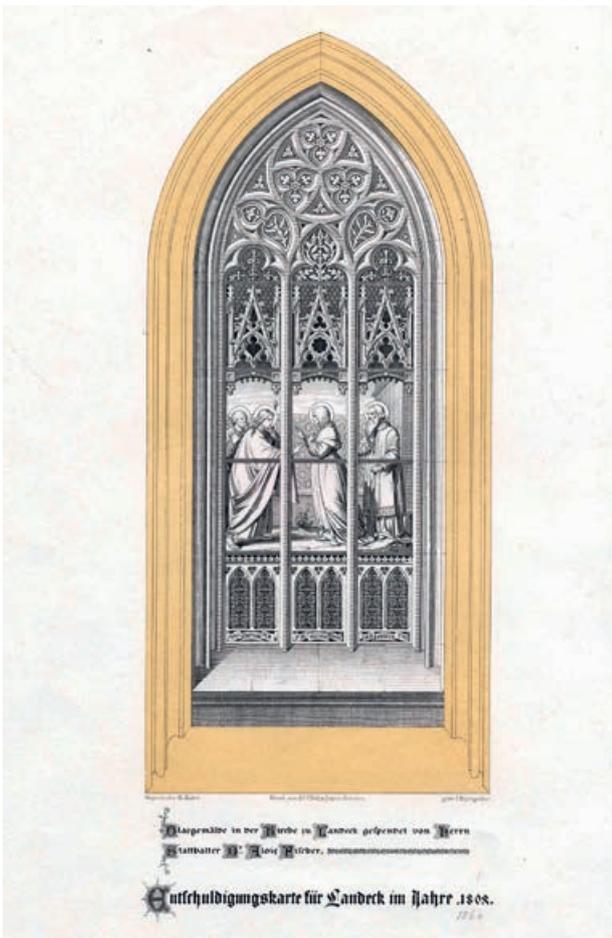
12. Georg Mader, *Visitation*, design for a window for the Parish church of Landeck, 1864, lithograph, Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Tiroler Landesmuseums, W 23205. Photo: Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum

and Mosaic Institute) in Innsbruck.[44] The research in the company archive carried out in the course of the current project, as well as the documentation of Tyrolean stained glass windows on site, has brought a group of late Nazarene glass paintings, which are among the earliest works of the Tyrolean Glass Painting and Mosaic Institute, into the light of observation for the first time. Another focus of the project is dedicated to these works of Romantic Historicism.

This group includes the windows of some churches that show biblical events from the life of Mary.[45] It is evident that for all these churches the same models – even if in

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[44] R. Rampold, *140 Jahre Tiroler Glasmalerei und Mosaik-Anstalt 1861–2001*, ed. by the Tiroler Glasmalerei und Mosaik-Anstalt, Innsbruck, 2002.

[45] Two windows in Sand in Taufers (1861/1870), one window from the parish church of Landeck (1863, lost), six windows from the small pilgrimage chapel of Schmirn (1865), two windows from the parish church of Sterzing (around 1868) and four windows from the parish church of Wolkenstein in Val Gardena (around 1871/1872).
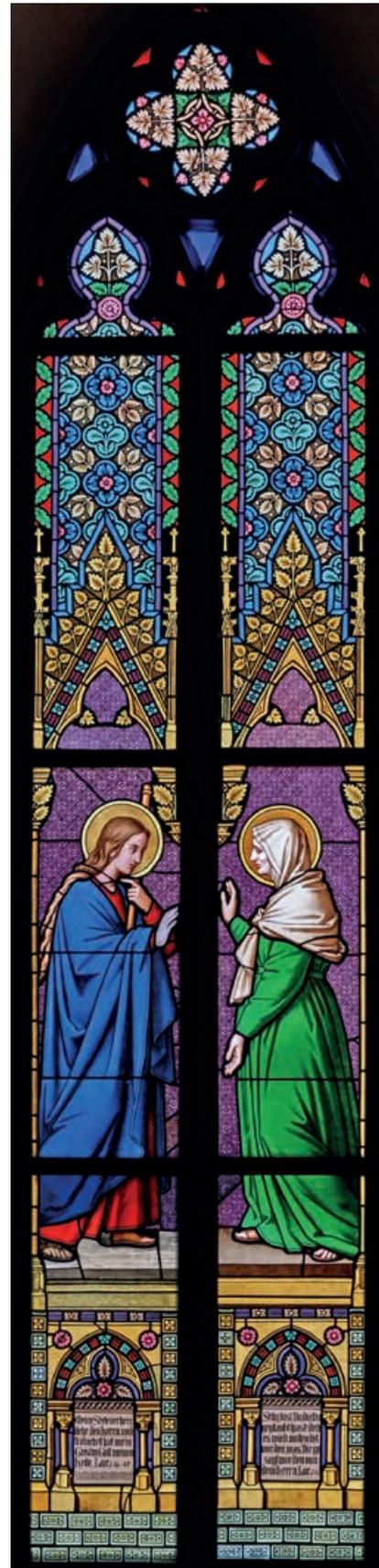
13. *Visitation*, 1871/1872, choir window south II, Parish church Maria Hilf in Wolkenstein, Gröden/Val Gardena. Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, D. Podosek

14. Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaikanstalt, *Presentation of the Child*, 1865, Schmirn, Pilgrimage chapel, choir window, east side. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, B. Neubauer-Pregl

15. Georg Mader, *Presentation of the Child*, 1860, Bruneck, Parish church. Photo: G. Fussenegger

very different sizes and artistic quality – were employed. In the library of the Tiroler Landesmuseum a lithograph has been preserved [Fig. 12] showing the design for a window which is lost today with the depiction of the Visitation for the parish church of Landeck (1863). Georg Mader is named as the author of the drawing. A window in the parish church of Wolkenstein in Val Gardena (about 1871/1872) can be traced back to the same design [Fig. 13].

According to a note in a magazine from 1881,[46] the six windows in the pilgrimage chapel of Schmirn (1865) were also created according to designs by Georg Mader, the artistic director of the Tyrolean Glass Painting and Mosaic Institute and the most important representative of Nazarene painting in Tyrol. In a different way, however, as in the case of Landeck and Wolkenstein, the scenic depictions of the windows by Schmirn were not executed in the sense of musiv stained glass, i.e. from differently coloured painted glass set in lead, but as miniature paintings on glass. Only the decorative framings were leaded in the sense of traditional glass painting [Fig. 14].

It is interesting to note that in the case of the ceiling frescoes in the parish church of Bruneck in present-day South Tyrol, the same design drawings were used as for the windows in Schmirn.[47] In the case of these murals, Georg Mader is proven to be the author. His signature is below the scene of the offering together with the date 1860 [Fig. 15]. The wall paintings testify to Mader's artistic education at the Munich Academy and the influence that his teachers Wilhelm von Kaulbach and Johannes Schraudolph had exerted on him. The works of Schraudolph,

with whom Mader worked on the artistic decoration of Speyer Cathedral (executed between 1846 and 1853), were particularly influential for his later work.[48] In Speyer, he also gained experience in transferring designs to cartons and in the field of fresco painting, a knowledge that was probably also of use to him in the field of stained glass production. However, it is still unclear whether Mader primarily supplied the designs for these windows, which were subsequently implemented by employees of the workshop, or whether he himself worked as a glass painter. This question can only be answered by a thorough stylistic analysis in the future.

Thanks to recent restorations, the glass paintings of Schmirn (2014/2015) and Sterzing (2018) have already been documented in the workshop when they were dismantled, thus yielding new insights into questions of technique and style. In addition, in the summer of 2018, the Austrian and Polish National Committees of the Corpus Vitrearum cooperated to photographically document the stained glass windows of Sterzing, Wolkenstein and Sand in Taufers with a seven meter tripod.[49]

The archive of the Tyrolean Glass Painting and Mosaic Institute in Innsbruck also preserves an extensive collection of design drawings and preliminary studies for the stained glass windows of Linz Cathedral, which were created in various stages between 1868 and 1924. A window of special historical and cultural importance is the so-called imperial window in the western transept [Fig. 16]. It leads over to another important topic group, to which in the course of the current project a focus was dedicated, the so-called imperial Jubilee windows, which occur in many places in the area of the former Habsburg monarchy.[50] The

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[46] *Andreas Hofer*, 1881, supplement to no. 31, p. 281.

[47] E. SCHOBER-BURZLER, *Georg Mader und die romantisch-religiöse Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert*, PhD diss., University of Innsbruck, 1989, pp. 188–189.

[48] Ibidem, pp. 38–46.

[49] The author thanks Dr Dobrosława Horzela and Dr Daniel Podosek, Cracow, for their support.

[50] A. YSABEL SPENGLER, 'Kaiserfenster. Stiftungen vom und für das Kaiserhaus in der Regierungszeit Kaiser Franz Joseph
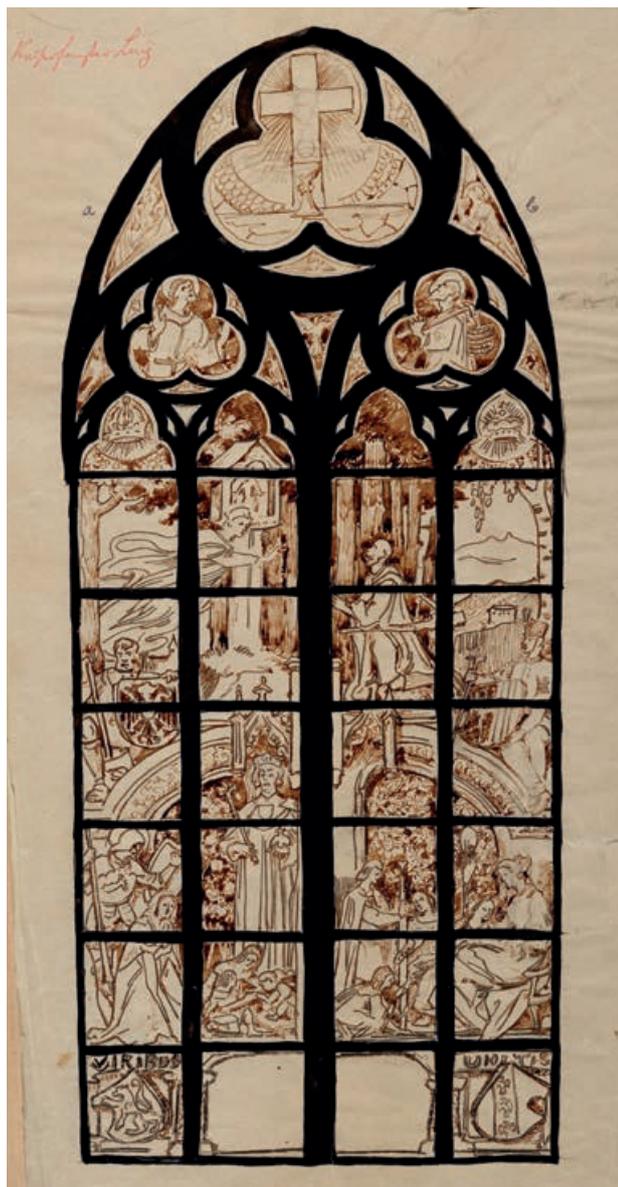
16. Preliminary study for the Emperor's Window in Linz Cathedral showing Emperor Franz Joseph I kneeling in front of a wayside shrine and Empress Sisi floating down as an angel, ink on paper, unexecuted, Innsbruck, Archive of the Tiroler Glasmalerei- und Mosaikanstalt. Photo: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, D. Podosek

Jubilee window of Linz Cathedral is part of an extensive iconographic programme that was to present the history of Upper Austria in its entirety, whereby – and this seems to be of particular relevance with regard to Laxenburg – current events here, too, were to receive their legitimation only from tradition, in this case that of the church and its history. In contrast to the Laxenburg stained-glass windows, the Jubilee window was not donated by the imperial family itself, but by the Upper Austrian Parliament

in 1910/1914 in commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I.[51] The striving for a monumentalization of the monarch in a window picture that would last for a long time led to his glorification, which was accompanied by a veritable 'sacralization' of the imperial image.

On the occasion of the Emperor's 50th anniversary Jubilee in 1898, a completely different image of the Emperor was created for the Catholic church of St. Margaretha in Kamienica (Kamitz), Poland, near Bielsko-Biała (formerly Bielitz in Upper Silesia), which was newly built at that time.[52] The supplement to the Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung from 1899 emphasises the importance of this building, which, we read there, 'is among the many works of homage which were created in almost all places of the Austrian monarchy to celebrate the government anniversary of His Majesty the Emperor, [...] [and] occupies an outstanding place'.[53] The portrait of Emperor Franz Joseph I, depicted in the regalia of the Order of the Golden Fleece, was juxtaposed with a portrait of Pope Leo XIII in a second window. The depiction of the Emperor in full regalia is documented only by a postcard from the year 1898 [Fig. 17]. In 1934 the picture of the Emperor was replaced by the Christ the King figure which is there today [Fig. 18].[54]

Products of the glass workshop of Carl Ludwig Türcke, Grottau, who had created the stained glass windows for Kamienica, can also be found in the Vienna Kaiserjubiläumskirche Vienna-Breitensee. Türcke's company, together with two other glass workshops, the company Richard Schlein, Grottau, and the Viennese St. Lukas Glaswerkstätte of Carl Glössl, created an impressive cycle of stained glass windows on the piety of the cross against the background of the Habsburg 'Pietas Austriaca'.[55] The three windows of the so-called imperial chapel – two of which show the portraits of Emperor Franz Joseph I [Fig. 19] and his wife Elisabeth – were made by the St. Lukas Glaswerkstätte of Carl Glössl and his glass painter Johann Wirnstl. Just that Johann Wirnstl has been ignored in research, although he is very prominently mentioned in an inscription and his signature can also be found on

I (1848–1916)', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 66, 2012, no. 3/4, pp. 450–457.

[51] R. RAMPOLD, 'Das Kaiserfenster im neuen Dom zu Linz', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 66, 2012, no. 3/4, pp. 458–467.

[52] The author thanks Dr Tomasz Szybisty, who gave her the reference to this Polish location in 2015.

[53] *Wiener Bauten-Album, Beilage zur Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*, 1899, p. 10.

[54] See I. KONTNY, T. SZYBISTY, *Korpus witraży z lat 1800–1945 w kościołach rzymskokatolickich metropolii krakowskiej i przemyskiej*, vol. 3: *Diecezja Bielsko-Żywiecka*, Cracow, 2015, p. 27/Fig. 23 and pp. 81–84.

[55] S. MALFÈR, *Kaiserjubiläum und Kreuzesfrömmigkeit. Habsburgische "Pietas Austriaca" in den Glasfenstern der Pfarrkirche zum heiligen Laurentius in Wien-Breitensee*, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar, 2011.

17. *Emperor Franz Josef Jubilee Church in Kamienica near Bielsko-Biała*, 1898, postcard depicting the window of Emperor Franz Joseph I in the regalia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Poland, G. Eliasiewicz, R. Ochęduszko
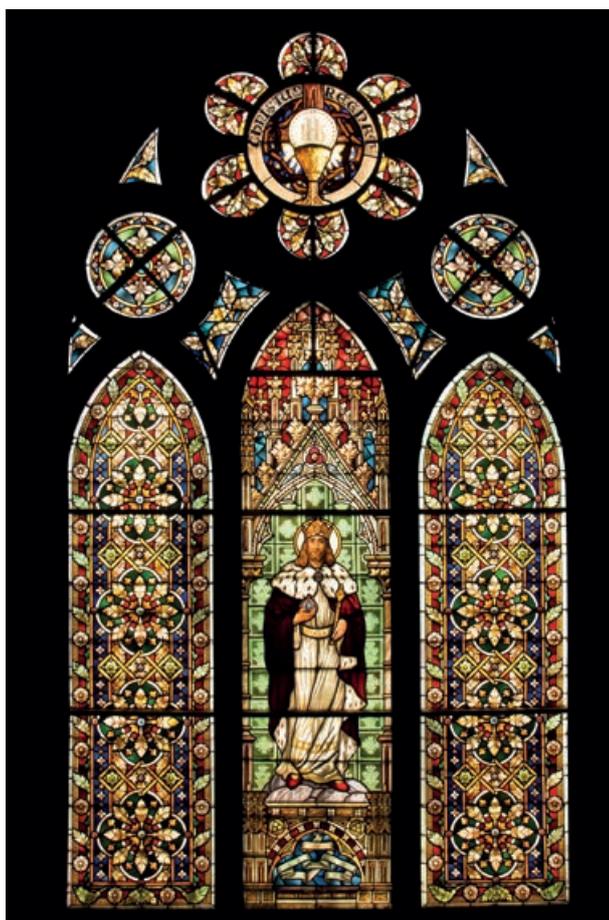
18. Kamienica, St Margareth's church, today's window in the northern transept with the picture of Emperor Franz Joseph I replaced in 1934 by a figure of Christ the King. Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Poland, G. Eliasiewicz, R. Ochęduszko
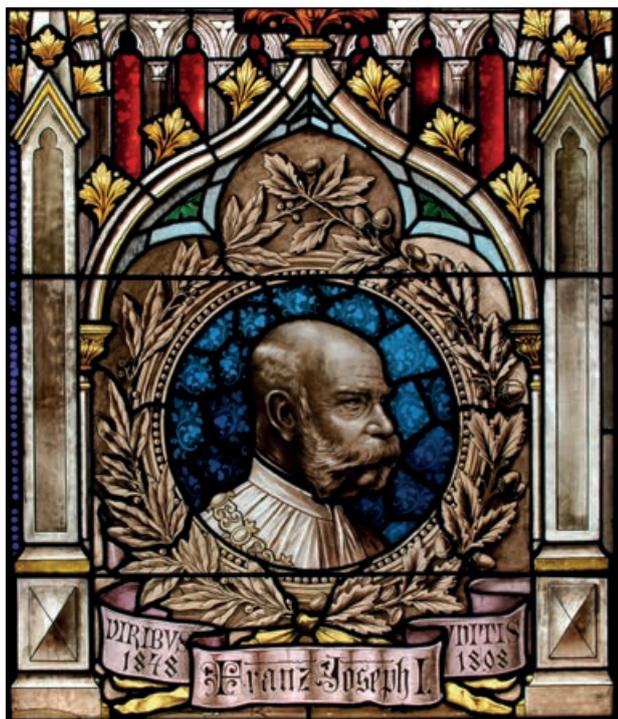
19. St. Lukas Glaswerkstätte of Carl Glössl, *Portrait of Emperor Franz Joseph I*, 1898/1899, Vienna-Breitensee, Parish church, central window in the southern transept, 2a. Photo: Glasmalerei Peters, Paderborn

20a. Signature of the glass painter Johann Wirnstl, central window in the southern transept, 5b, Vienna-Breitensee, Parish church. Photo: C. Wais-Wolf

several glass paintings [Fig. 20a, 20b]. As recent research by the author on this artist has shown,[56] Wirnstl was immediately contacted by his university friend Iuliu Moisil, a Romanian by birth, after completing his commission for the Church of Vienna-Breitensee – both men knew each other from studying together at the Kunstgewerbeschule des k.k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Indus-

trie in Vienna – and assigned to Târgu Jiu in the district of Gorj in the foothills of the Southern Carpathians. Johann Wirnstl, who was born in Salzburg, was to help his Romanian friend around 1900 to set up the first school for traditional Romanian ceramics, a project approved by the local Ministry of Public Education and Culture. Between 1906 and 1914 Wirnstl, who was probably highly regarded as a ceramist, painter and glass painter, taught in Bucharest at the Academy of Fine Arts. In a 1931 publication, Iuliu Moisil mentions a large number of places in Romania where Johann Wirnstl is said to have created stained glass paintings.[57] Wirnstl's exact artistic oeuvre has remained largely unexplored to date. Only shortly before his death did Wirnstl, who also became an employee of the French stained-glass workshop of Maume-Jean Freres, Paris-Hendaye, between 1922 and 1928, return to Vienna, where he died in May 1929.[58] Biographies such as those of Wirnstl are noteworthy for revealing the wide exchange of artists, glass painters and glass workshops that was taking place in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, both within the individual countries of the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and also beyond.[59]

The large number of topics addressed for the first time in the context of the current project, as well as art-historical and intellectual-historical questions on glass painting after 1800, are to be regarded as a starting signal for a more in-depth scientific treatment in the future of this art form in Austria, to which too little attention has been paid in research so far.

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[56] First results were presented by the author in the course of a lecture in the parish church of Vienna-Breitensee on 12.2.2018.

[57] I. Moisil, *Arta Decorativă in Ceramica Românească*, Bucharest, 1931, pp. 12–16.

[58] I. Mocioi, 'Doi artişti străini la Târgu-Jiu', *Caietele „Columna". Revistă trimestrială de literatură şi artă*, 1, 2012, p. 29.

[59] In 1899 and 1904, for example, the Tyrolean Glass Painting and Mosaic Institute in Innsbruck was entrusted with the execution of the picture windows in the Franciscan Church in Cracow.

20b. Johann Wirnstl, *Emperor Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*, 1898/1899, Vienna-Breitensee, Parish church, central window in the southern transept, 5b/6b/7b. Photo: Glasmalerei Peters, Paderborn

SUMMARY

Christina Wais-Wolf

RESEARCH PROJECT *CORPUS VITREARUM –
MEDIEVAL AND MODERN STAINED GLASS
IN AUSTRIA*. INVESTIGATIONS INTO AUSTRIAN
STAINED GLASS AFTER 1800 AS PART
OF A PILOT PROJECT AT THE AUSTRIAN
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The article presents current investigations at the Austrian Academy of Sciences into Austrian stained glass after 1800, beginning with the stained-glass windows for Laxenburg, which were created in the 1820s by Gottlob Samuel Mohn by order of the Austrian imperial family. The iconographic concept unites these new windows with medieval spolia into one unit. Further exciting new discoveries of glass paintings from the art trade, including two panels by the landscape painter and founder of the Viennese glass workshop in 1841, Carl Geyling, supplement the knowledge of the technical possibilities of glass painting production in the nineteenth century. The drawings and cartons that have been preserved in the archives of the Tyrolean Glass Painting and Mosaic Institute in Innsbruck (founded in 1861) also provide an impression of the various stages of implementation from the first design to the finished window. The focus here is on a group of glass paintings created in the 1860s and 1870s, when Georg Mader was the artistic director of the company. The windows of the Linz Cathedral, created between 1868 and 1924, also come from the same workshop. The imperial window of Linz finally leads to the so-called imperial jubilee churches, which have been preserved in all regions of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

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MIDDLE AGES AND NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORICAL INTERVENTIONS IN THE DOCUMENTATION OF AND RESEARCH ON STAINED GLASS – A SHORT WORKING REPORT FROM CVMA POTSDAM

Research on medieval stained glass is linked in various ways to that on nineteenth and early twentieth century glazing. This report takes a cursory look at the activities of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA) Potsdam, regarding research and documentation of nineteenth and early twentieth century stained glass. It also looks at some issues on stained glass supplements from that time that relate to the currently ongoing studies. The aim is to illustrate the importance of detailed examinations of nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass that were made as supplements to or in combination with medieval stained glass. Such research provides a solid foundation for the interpretation of medieval stained glass that has undergone restoration, as well as a better understanding of the artistic and technological procedures carried out by stained glass workshops in the eras of romanticism and historicism.

In the 1990s, heavy losses of nineteenth and early twentieth century glasses as a result of neglect and extensive mechanical and environmental damage motivated the CVMA Arbeitsstelle in Potsdam to embark on documentation and research in this field. The exhibition *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* presented at Erfurt (1993/1994)[1] was followed by an inventory project starting in 1999, targeting the remaining ecclesiastical stained glass of the period 1800 to 1914 in Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia.[2] The aim was not only to register all remaining stained glass of the referenced period, but in so doing, to also foster awareness of the significance of the glazing, in terms of technique and artistic relevance, as integral parts of church interiors, as crucial elements of ecclesiastical iconographic programmes, as important cultural and liturgic testimonies, and as important sources of local history. The underlying philosophy was that the registration of the glazing units and the given information about their contexts may bring them back to the awareness of communities, parishes, architects, art historians and conservators, and thus contribute to their protection. The project was funded by the Ostdeutsche Sparkassenstiftung, which supports regional cultural projects, with a particular focus on the survey and preservation of cultural heritage. Thanks to this sponsorship, and, in the case of the Thuringia volume, in cooperation with the Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie (Thuringian Office for the Preservation of Historic Monuments) and the Sparkassen-Kulturstiftung Hessen-Thüringen, five inventories were published in the years 2001 to 2006.[3] Altogether 2477 glazing units are documented in the catalogues. The descriptions are short, including relevant information about the architectural and historical context, dates, benefactors or donors, models, techniques, iconography, inscriptions, restorations

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[1] *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, exh. cat., Angermuseum Erfurt 23.09.1993 –27.02.1994, Leipzig, 1993.

[2] The project was initiated by Erhard Drachenberg, then head of the CVMA Arbeitsstelle in Potsdam, and continued from 2002

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until its completion in 2006 under the direction of Frank Martin.

[3] *Die Glasmalereien des 19. Jahrhunderts. Die Kirchen*, vols 1–5, Leipzig, 2001–2006: *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* (R. Kuhl, 2001), *Sachsen-Anhalt* (C. Aman, 2003), *Berlin, Brandenburg* (A. Klauke and F. Martin, 2003), *Sachsen* (A. Hörig, 2004), *Thüringen* (F. Bornschein, U. Gassmann, 2006).

1. *Saint Erasmus in a cauldron*, 1460/1470 and Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei 1886–1889, Bad Wilsnack, St Nicholas' Church, window nII,2–4a–c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

and the condition of the glazing. The attached indexes allow one to search for artists, glass workshops, iconographies and dates, thereby providing information beyond the scope of the specific church or region. Regarding the extensive nineteenth and early twentieth century restorations of medieval stained glass and related supplements, only complete windows and those large-scale window parts with a significant proportion of supplementary glass are documented. Although all this stained glass has been photographed,[4] only a small selection of pictures could be added to the text in the publications. Furthermore, the financial framework of the nineteenth and early twentieth century inventory project did not cover the use of scaffolds, so that observation and photo documentation at close range was in many cases not possible. It was always very helpful to find preliminary studies where available or if there was a chance to consult it, a volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. In addition, the authors of the *Corpus Vitrearum* volumes kindly granted insight into their research, which was at this time not yet published.[5]

In the early *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* volumes edited by the CVMA Potsdam, formerly in Berlin, the restoration campaigns were covered in the catalogue section with a standardized listing of the panels, including their

measurements, iconography and the workshops where they were produced, while at the same time they are mentioned briefly in the text discussing the glazing history.[6] There is no detailed discussion of the iconographic or theological background of the supplementary parts and there is little information about their drafts or models. For those cases, further information on nineteenth century restoration campaigns is dependent on additional studies.[7] However, in the more recent volumes of the CVMA, the additions to medieval glazing as well as the regroupings in the context of restoration campaigns and the underlying motivations are given special attention within the glazing history chapters. This provides essential information about the original state of and the changes to historic glazing. Beyond those features, this body of research provides an insight into the specific strategies used in the restoration, preservation and interpretation of stained glass in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the online photo archive of the CVMA Deutschland, which is currently under development, the photo documentation of nineteenth and early twentieth century glass implementations in medieval stained glass contexts is about to be published.[8] Furthermore, the CVMA Potsdam provides online hyper image presentations of stained glass windows, located in eight cathedrals and churches, that allow one to select windows, scenes and single panels from a floorplan. In this way, both the medieval stained glass and the supplementary parts can be studied in detail.[9] However, these IT approaches are for the documentation and online accessibility only of medieval stained glass and the directly added parts and panels. Those nineteenth and twentieth century windows that contain no medieval glass, but which are in a coherent architectural context with medieval glazing, have so far not been included. Future considerations should take into account the extent to which such glazing can be made part of CVMA's online presentations or alternatively be included in another online platform dedicated to nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass, ideally interlinked according to categories like workshop, iconography and date/date of restoration.

The research on stained glass restorations and supplementations, beyond very tangible aspects like the identification of newly made parts and the retracing of transfers and regroupings of medieval panels, also provides insight

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[4] The photo documentations are part of the CVMA Potsdam image archive.

[5] Once more special thanks to Eva Fitz and Monika Böning, formerly of CVMA Potsdam.

[6] For the publications of CVMA Deutschland, see http://www.corpusvitrearum.de/projekt/publikationen/editionen.html [retrieved 19 October 2019].

[7] See, for example, F. Bornschein, U. Brinkmann, I. Rauch, *Erfurt – Köln – Oppenheim. Quellen und Studien zur Restaurierungsgeschichte Mittelalterlicher Farbverglasungen*. Mit einer Einführung von R. Becksmann, Berlin, 1996 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland Studien II).

[8] http://www.corpusvitrearum.de/cvma-digital/bildarchiv.html [retrieved 19 October 2019].

[9] http://cvma.bbaw.de/cvma-digital [retrieved 19 October 2019].

2. *Saint Erasmus in a cauldron* (as Fig. 1), 1886–1889, detail

3. *Saint Erasmus on a windlass*, 1460/1470, Bad Wilsnack, St Nicholas' Church, window nII,6c, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

into specific strategies used in the restoration, preservation and interpretation of stained glass in the eras of romanticism and historicism. Considering the stained glass-workshops of that time, it broadens the knowledge about their capabilities in adopting historic techniques and stylistic features and about their understanding of medieval models and iconography. The examples outlined below illustrate the relevance of gaining a broader perspective that includes nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass restorations and newly made glazing of that time.

RESTORATION AND INVENTION I: THE KÖNIGLICHE INSTITUT FÜR GLASMALEREI BERLIN-CHARLOTTENBURG

In many cases, medieval glazing, which is the subject of research of the CVMA Potsdam, underwent restoration by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg. For this reason, it is very important to understand this workshop's capacity and concepts in stained glass restoration and supplementation.

The Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei was founded in 1843 in Berlin, following the example of the Königliche Glasmalereianstalt in Munich, which had then been in existence for more than 15 years. The founding of the new Institut für Glasmalerei was in line with king Friedrich

Wilhelm IV's policy of supporting and promoting the art of stained glass in Prussia.[10] Right from the start, the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei worked mainly for

[10] For the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg, its autonomous glazing and restoration works, see K. Borstel, *Das Wirken des Königlich preußischen Glasmalerei-Institutes. Untersuchungen über die Förderung der Glasmalerei durch den preußischen Staat*, PhD diss., University of Würzburg, 1921; E. Mahn, *Deutsche Glasmalerei der Romantik 1790–1850*, PhD diss., University of Leipzig, 1980, pp. 128–142; A. Nickel, 'Das Königliche Glasmalerei-Institut (1843–1905)', *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 2, 1993, no. 9, pp. 8–16; E. Fitz, 'Die rekonstruktiven Restaurierungen des Königlichen Institutes für Glasmalerei in Berlin. Technische und ikonographische Methoden im Zeitalter des Historismus', in *Restaurierung und Konservierung historischer Glasmalereien*, ed. by A. Wolf, Mainz, 2000, pp. 36–46; A. Beeskow, 'Die Ausstattung in den Kirchen des Berliner Kirchenbauvereins (1890–1904). Mit einem Verzeichnis zu 197 Kartons des Königlichen Instituts für Glasmalerei Berlin aus dem Archivbestand der Königlichen Porzellanmanufaktur', *Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin*, Beiheft 30, ed. by Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, 2005, pp. 345, 357, 374, 376, 381, 391, 414f., 431–447; G. Datz, *Partenheim versus Boppard. Geschichte und Rekonstruktion zweier spätgotischer Verglasungen am Mittelrhein*, PhD diss., University of Mainz, 2006, pp. 120–123 (https://publications.ub.uni-mainz.de/theses/volltexte/2013/3514/pdf/3514.pdf [retrieved 19 October 2019]); F. Martin, 'Das Königliche Glasmalerei-Institut in

4. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Entry into Jerusalem*, 1887/1888, Stendal, Cathedral, window I,3a, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

state commissions, on order by the king and for the nobility. Efforts to expand its circle of customers were only partially successful. This fact, and the increasing competition in the stained glass business, combined with the institutes' structural difficulties, led to growing economic problems. In 1883, the Munich-trained glass painter Heinrich Bernhard became the head of the stained glass workshop and four years later, it was transformed into a state-owned enterprise. While the Königliche Glasmalerei continued to manufacture new windows in an idealized academic style, Bernhard at the same time increasingly banked on restorations of medieval glazing and implemented high standards in this field. This was in line with the role of the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei as a model institution – and it was an important raison d'être, especially in view of the growing criticism of the institute's autonomous works as expressed in the aesthetic discourse on ecclesiastical art and architecture of that time.[11]

Berlin-Charlottenburg (1843–1905)', *Das Münster*, 62, 2009, no. 2, pp. 100–110.

[11] See F. Martin, 'Das Königliche Glasmalerei-Institut', pp. 101–108 (as in note 10).

Considering the large quantity of autonomous glazing made by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei by the time of its dissolution in 1904, the number of preserved examples of this glazing is very small. The loss was particularly dramatic in Berlin, where many churches had had stained glass windows from the Königliche Institut. Of these, the only stained glasses that exist today are three panels from the Elisabethkirche (Invalidenstraße), which are now deposited in a side room, and three windows in the Gethsemanekirche (Stargarder Straße). The windows in the Gethsemanekirche show fragments of Jesus in Gethsemane and two evangelists, both of which previously belonged to a five-window-series executed in 1893, based on cartoons by Franz Heynacher.[12] These windows demonstrate the high quality of the painterly stained glass technique the workshop was able to provide at that time.

Restorations of medieval stained glasses executed by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei often show a highly sensitive adaptation of stylistic characteristics and techniques that were based on intensive studies of the original glazing.[13] At the Nikolaikirche in Wilsnack, the institute during the restoration campaign from 1886 to 1889 adopted the elegant style and technique of the so-called Altmarkwerkstatt, which had made the medieval windows around 1460/70 and whose characteristics are fine contour lines and delicate modelling in thin paint layers [Figs 1–3].[14] At Stendal Cathedral the institute carried over from the medieval stained glass into the supplementary parts the cross-hatching drawing technique, and physiognomic characteristics like the long narrow noses, accentuated eyelids, and curly wisps of hair. Especially the newly made scenes, depicting the Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Resurrection and Ascension (1887/1888),

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[12] A. Klauke, F. Martin, *Berlin, Brandenburg*, pp. 31f., 36f. (as in note 3); C. Aman, *Gutachten zur Kunsthistorischen Bewertung der bauzeitlichen Chorverglasung der Gethsemanekirche und kunsthistorisch-fachliche Vorbereitung eines Maßnahmekonzepts*, Berlin 2016 (typescript). – Photographs of the cartoons are preserved in the archive of the Universität der Künste Berlin (UdK).

[13] In this respect Eva Fitz has called attention to the workshop's imitations of ageing phenomena like caverns and corrosive layers, and, on the other hand, to the repainting over medieval glasses that were affected by corrosion. E. Fitz, 'Schwarzlotübermalung – ein Beitrag zur Restaurierungspraxis im 19. Jahrhundert', *Die Denkmalpflege*, 54, 1996, no. 2, pp. 119–129, fig. 11; eadem, 'Karl der Große verabschiedet sich von Roland', in *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deuschland*, no. 63, pp. 176f. (as in note 1). – However, the sometimes fundamental interventions into the original substance and the re-arrangements of panels encountered growing criticism with the upcoming new conservation principles at the beginning of the twentieth century, see E. Fitz, *Die rekonstruktiven Restaurierungen*, p. 44 (as in note 10).

[14] U. Bednarz, E. Fitz, F. Martin, M. L. Mock, G. Pfeiffer, M. Voigt, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Berlin und Brandenburg*, Berlin, 2010 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XXII), vol. 1, pp. 87–165, vol. 2, figs 7–116.

5. *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, 1423–1430, Stendal, Cathedral, window sII,17–18a–c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

which 'complete' the crucifixion in the central window to portray a programmatic salvation history, demonstrate the highly adaptive capacity of the Berlin-Charlottenburg workshop. Nevertheless, the glasses still reflect their own late 1880s period [Figs 4, 5].[15]

Following widespread workshop practice, the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei repeated single figures and groups of figures in its autonomous compositions. Likewise, the institute in some cases followed similar strategies in the supplementation of medieval glass, which, as in Stendal Cathedral, could be very extensive. Two presentations of the Crucifixion of Saint Peter exemplify how the institute used its experience in the restoration and reconstruction of medieval stained glass to develop workshop models. One is a medieval scene at Stendal Cathedral (1423–1430), restored by the Königliche Institut in 1887/1888 [Fig. 5]. The other is a stained glass panel at the Johanniskirche in Werben, which was newly made by the Königliche Institut 1891 [Fig. 6]. The latter is one of four panels produced by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei to complete two medieval scenes (c. 1360) and form

6. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, 1891, Werben, St John's Church, window nIV, 6b. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, J. Wermann

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[15] For the glazing of Stendal Cathedral see K.-J. Maercker, *Die mittelalterliche Glasmalerei im Stendaler Dom*, Berlin, 1988 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XVIII,1), and http://telota.bbaw.de/cvma/HyperCVMA/StendalDom/ [retreived 19 October 2019].

7. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Freeing of Saint Peter*, 1887/1888, Stendal, Cathedral, window sII, 13–14a–c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

a series of six.[16] It shows the adoption not only of the medieval Stendal composition, but also of its tense and winding drawing style, especially in the figure of Saint Peter. The two henchmen in Werben are rather free interpretations based on the Stendal models and have nothing in common with their counterparts in the Maltreatment of Saint Peter, which is depicted in the medieval Werben panels.

The Freeing of Saint Peter from Imprisonment, also depicted in the same window as the Crucifixion of Saint Peter at Stendal Cathedral, was an entirely new creation by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei [Fig. 7]. When compared with the corresponding scene at Naumburg Cathedral (sII,6a), it shows strong similarities [Fig. 9]. The Naumburg window with the story of Saint Peter was donated by the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1856 and was also made by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei.[17] Three decades later the workshop used the

Naumburg model of the Freeing of Saint Peter to develop the more complex Stendal scene, and adapted it in its style and its decorative and architectural forms to match the medieval parts in the window. Later, the composition was – like the Crucifixion of Saint Peter – used as a model for the Johanniskirche at Werben [Fig. 8].

The Naumburg panel leads us to an important area of current research at the CVMA Potsdam, which is taking place alongside a large-scale restoration undertaking at Naumburg.[18] The research on the implementations and

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[16] M. Böning, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in der Werbener Johanniskirche*, Berlin, 2007 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XIX,1), pp. 69–75, 80f., figs 39–43.

[17] E. Fitz, '"Die Berufung Petri beim Fischfang", "Die Rettung Petri aus den Fluten"', in *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, no. 62.1–2, pp. 174–175 (as in note 1); C. Aman, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, pp. 308f. (as in note 3); M. Ludwig, G. Siebert, *Glasmalerei im Naumburger Dom vom Hohen Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart*, Petersberg, 2009 (Kleine Schriften der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatsstifts

Zeitz 6), pp. 57–75; G. Siebert, '17.2 Glasmalerei im Ostchor', in *Der Dom zu Naumburg*, vol. 2: *Ausstattung*, ed. by H. Brandl, M. Ludwig, O. Ritter, Regensburg, 2018 (Beiträge zur Denkmalkunde in Sachsen-Anhalt, 13), pp. 1140–1158.

[18] A primary insight is given by M. Deiters, 'Erfassung und Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Naumburger Doms. Ein Bericht aus der "Werkstatt" des CVMA', *Saale-Unstrut-Jahrbuch*, 24, 2019, pp. 93–103. The Corpus volume, M. Deiters unter Mitarbeit von C. Aman und M. Voigt, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien im Naumburger Dom* (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XIX,6), is expected in 2022. The conservation and restoration of the medieval glazing in Naumburg Cathedral began in December 2017, starting with the windows of the west choir. For this purpose, a stained-glass conservation workshop was temporarily installed at Naumburg, and the work is being conducted by Ivo Rauch and Sarah Jarron, see M. Deiters, 'Erfassung und Erforschung'.

8. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Freeing of Saint Peter*, 1891, Werben, St John's Church, nIV, 5c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, J. Wermann

restorations that were made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries plays a significant role in this regard.[19]

According to a contemporary description, medieval stained glass had been preserved in all eight windows in the east choir of Naumburg Cathedral until the eighteenth century, even though in fragments.[20] For the planned re-

9. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, window of Saint Peter, 1856–1858, Naumburg, Cathedral, east choir, window sII, 6–9a–b, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

structuring of the choir in the middle of the nineteenth century, Ferdinand von Quast (1807–1877), then curator of Prussian monuments, spoke out against the practice of regrouping the remaining pieces of medieval stained glass into the centre windows.[21] He wanted the inner coherence of the glazing programme to be respected. Based on von Quast's design, two new windows were made at

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[19] Ibidem and C. Aman, M. Deiters, M. Voigt, *Vorabgutachten zur Restaurierungsgeschichte der Westchor- und Ostchorverglasung des Naumburger Domes*, Potsdam, 2016, suppl. 2018 (typescript).

[20] J.G. Kayser, *Antiquitates, Epitaphia et Monumenta ad Descriptionem Templi cathedralis Numburgensis collecta (…)*, Naumburg, 1746 (MS, Naumburg, Cathedral Chapter Archive), fol. 112–117. For the medieval glazing of Naumburg Cathedral and its restorations, see, among others, H. Bergner, *Darstellung der älteren Bau und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Naumburg*, Halle (Saale), 1903, pp. 133–153; C. Aman, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, pp. 11, 307–313 (as in note 3); G. Siebert, 'Die Glasmalereien des Naumburger Westchors: Fragen der Entstehung und des künstlerischen Zusammenhangs', in *Der Naumburger Meister – Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, exh. cat., Naumburg 29.06.2011–02.11.2011, vol. 2, ed. by H. Krohm, H. Kunde, Petersberg, 2011, pp. 1050–1065; H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, 'Zum Bildprogramm des Naumburger Westchores. Ein eschatologischer Rahmen für Lettner, Stifterfiguren und die Glasmalerei', in ibidem, pp. 1158–1168; M. Ludwig, '"…dass hier einmal eine der Würde des Ganzen entsprechende Aenderung eintreten möchte" – Die Restaurierung im Inneren der Naumburger Domkirche 1874–1878', in *Dombaumeistertagung Naumburg 2011. Tagungsband*, ed.

by H. Kunde, R. Hartkopf, Petersberg, 2012, pp. 22–34; M. Ludwig, G. Siebert, *Glasmalerei im Naumburger Dom* (as in note 17); G. Siebert, '17.1 Glasmalerei im Westchor, 17.2 Glasmalerei im Ostchor', in *Der Dom zu Naumburg*, pp. 1121–1158 (as in note 17); M. Deiters, 'Erfassung und Erforschung' (as in note 18).

[21] *Gutachten von Quasts zu den geplanten Instandsetzungsarbeiten am Dom*, 17.12.1844; C. Aman, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, p. 308 (as in note 3).

10. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, window of the Saint Paul, 1856–1858, Naumburg, Cathedral, east choir, window nII, 6-9a-b, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei, from 1856 to 1858, by the glass painter Ferdinand Ulrich. These two were the Saint Peter window (sII) [Fig. 9] and the Saint Paul window (nII) [Fig. 10]. They replaced medieval panels depicting the legends of the apostles Peter and Paul, which had partly survived in these windows until at least the 1740s.[22] The figurative scenes of the nineteenth century windows show only the key figures, arranged in reduced spatiality. They are clearly works of the late Nazarene period, but some motifs may reflect medieval models.[23]

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[22] J.G. KAYSER, *Antiquitates*, fol. 113–116 (as in note 20); E. FITZ, "'Die Berufung Petri'", p. 174 (as in note 17); G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei im Ostchor*, pp. 1141–1142 (as in note 17).

[23] E. FITZ, "'Die Berufung Petri'", p. 174 (as in note 17). H. BERGNER, *Darstellung der älteren Bau*, pp. 151f. (as in note 20) mentions that medieval stained glass was discarded to make way for the new glazing. However, it is unclear to what extent parts of the Peter and Paul windows still existed in the nineteenth century;
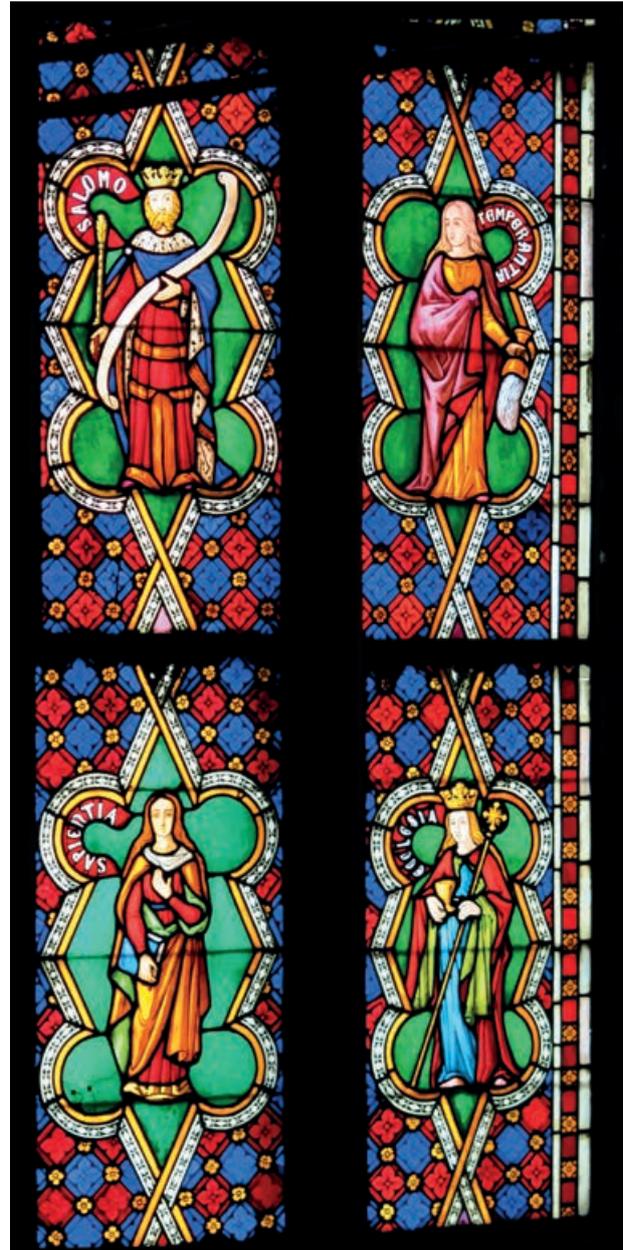
11. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, window of the Virgins, 1856–1858, Naumburg, Cathedral, east choir, window sI,2-3b-c, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

The medallion framings of the Saint Peter window and the Saint Paul window are variations of the medieval framing system of vertically connected medallions to be seen in the neighbouring window, the so-called Window of the Virgins. In this window, as well as in the Saint Mary window, large parts of the medieval glass survived in the upper rows. The lower panels were provided with new glass by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei. Together

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see most recently G. SIEBERT, '17.2 Glasmalerei im Ostchor', p. 1142 (as in note 17).

with the windows of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, mentioned above, they exemplify the approach taken by the institute in its early phase in the 1850/60s, conflating medieval models with idealized romanticism [Fig. 11].

Considering the fact that only 48 of 2477 glazing units documented in the catalogues of the nineteenth and early twentieth century glass paintings date back to the years before 1860, the stained glasses in the east choir of Naumburg Cathedral attain even higher importance. Moreover, they are among the oldest surviving figurative glass paintings of the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei.[24] The correlation between the institute's restoration projects and its autonomous glazing is still a desideratum requiring further research.[25]

RESTORATION AND INVENTION II: THE GLAZING IN THE WEST CHOIR OF NAUMBURG CATHEDRAL

In the west choir of Naumburg Cathedral, there are three stained glass windows that date back to the time of the construction of the cathedral, around 1250. Together with the famous sculptures of the benefactors of the cathedral, these windows form part of an iconographic concept that visualizes the triumphant Ecclesia and the hierarchical community of clerics, laity and saints.[26] The southwest window depicts church fathers, holy bishops and deacons. On the opposite side, the northwest window assembles holy knights and holy women from the laity. In the neighbouring second window on the northwest side, four apostles fight their pagan enemies while each of four virtues triumph over a vice. The central window and the second window on the southwest side lost their stained glass at the latest by the eighteenth century.[27] Historical photographs from the 1870s show them without stained glass. They also show bigger gaps in the stained glass of the neighbouring windows [Fig. 12]. From 1875 onwards,

12. Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, c. 1875, Vereinigte Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz, Bildarchiv Naumburg. Photo: Domstiftsarchiv Naumburg

these windows were restored and supplemented by the Naumburg glass painter Wilhelm Franke under the direction and supervision of the architect Karl Memminger.[28]

Memminger decided, as von Quast had done for the east choir, that the remaining medieval stained glasses should not be rearranged in the three centre windows. Instead, he used the preserved stained glasses and additional sources like the *Legenda aurea* and historic chronicles to reconstruct the iconographic programme of the glazing.[29] In harmony with the apostles and virtues in the second window on the northwest side, Memminger developed figures, frames, and patterns for the other two windows that were then empty. As a result, the three central windows contain a series of 12 apostles and 12 triumphant

[24] To the same period date the windows in Criewen, Dorfkirche (1856) and Hechingen, Johanneskirche (1856/1857), see A. KLAUKE, F. MARTIN, *Berlin, Brandenburg*, pp. 69 (fig.), 94 (as in note 3). For the purely architectural panels in the central window in Brandenburg Cathedral (1853) see U. BEDNARZ et al., *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Berlin*, vol. 1, pp. 313f., 328f., fig. 343, vol. 2, fig. 218 (as in note 14) and http://telota.bbaw.de/cvma/HyperCVMA/BrandenburgHavelDom/ [retrieved 19 October 2019]. – A catalogue of the surviving stained glass made by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg is still outstanding.

[25] The ornamental and architectural parts in Hechingen were obviously influenced by the medieval glazing of the Naumburg Saint Mary window (c. 1330).

[26] See, among others, H. WOLTER-VON DEM KNESEBECK, 'Zum Bildprogramm' (as in note 20).

[27] J.G. KAYSER, *Antiquitates*, fol. 93–95 (as in note 20) saw medieval stained glass only in nwIII, nwII and swIII.

[28] K. MEMMINGER, 'Alte Glasmalereien und ihre Wiederherstellung im Naumburger Dom und der Wiesenkirche in Soest', *Christliches Kunstblatt für Kirche, Schule und Haus*, 34, 1892, no. 6, pp. 84–89; M. LUDWIG, '"…dass hier einmal eine der Würde"' (as in note 20); M. LUDWIG, G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei*, p. 18 (as in note 17); M. DEITERS, *Erfassung und Erforschung*, pp. 95f. (as in note 18). – For Wilhelm Franke, see *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 44, Munich and Leipzig, 2005, p. 79 (C. Aman).

[29] K. MEMMINGER, 'Alte Glasmalereien', p. 86 (as in note 28); S. LÜTTICH, 'Über den Naumburger Dom. I: Wie sind die Glasgemälde der Westchorfenster zu ergänzen?', in *Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Domgymnasiums zu Naumburg a. S.*, Naumburg (Saale), 1898, pp. 3–15.

13. Karl Memminger, *window wsII (detail): Apostle Thomas*, watercolour, 1877. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

virtues. This approach, and also his idea to depict early Naumburg bishops in the medallions in the lower parts, with their size and form determined by the metal framing, and the reconstruction of the *Pantocrator* in the tracery of the central window, are compelling even today. Memminger's only concession to the fact that the cathedral has been a protestant church since the sixteenth century was to put the two archangels Michael and Gabriel in the traceries of the north- and southwest windows [Fig. 17] instead of Saint Mary and Saint John as he initially had intended.[30]

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[30] K. MEMMINGER, 'Alte Glasmalereien', p. 86 (as in note 28).

14. *Apostle Thomas*, c. 1250, Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, window nwII,4/5a. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

The Cathedral Chapter Archive preserves watercolours made by Karl Memminger that show the medieval stained glasses of the west choir. Memminger documented the draperies, ornaments and physiognomies very carefully and in remarkable detail [Figs 13, 14]. Watercolours that document the designing process of the new windows have also been preserved [Fig. 15].[31] Memminger's watercolours are an important documentation of his intensive survey of the medieval Naumburg windows [Fig. 16]. Based on his studies, he developed a consistent stylistic approach that emphasized the sculptural plasticity of figures more than *Zackenstil* elements. These were perceived as an eponymous stylistic phenomenon only at the end of the nineteenth century.[32] The Cathedral Chapter Archive also preserves some models of apostles and virtues, signed and

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[31] G. SIEBERT, 'Die Glasmalereien des Naumburger Westchors', p. 1059, fig. 12 (as in note 20); M. LUDWIG, "… dass hier einmal eine der Würde", fig. 3 (as in note 20); M. LUDWIG, G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei*, fig. p. 18 (as in note 17).

[32] The term was first used in A. HASELOFF, *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Straßburg, 1897 (Studien

15. Karl Memminger, *window wI (detail): Mansuetudo and Insolentia*, watercolour, 1877. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

dated 1875 by Karl Memminger. These show the architect's important role not only in the conception but also in the stylistic approach and the specifications of the stained

16. Karl Memminger, Paul Franke, *Mansuetudo and Insolentia*, 1876–1878, Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, window wI,10/11a. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

glass design [Fig. 18].[33] The reconstruction of the iconographic programme and the supplements of the 1870s restoration campaign fundamentally characterise the glazing of the Naumburg west choir up to the present day. The newly implemented glass re-established the iconographic and aesthetic entity of the glazing. At the same time, they are not mere copies of the medieval stained glass but are also interpretations of them. Thus they should be valued as an artistic achievement in their own right.

A restoration campaign in the years 1939 to 1943, directed by glass painter Josef Oberberger and carried out in Naumburg by staff members of the Mayer'sche Hofkunstanstalt in Munich, again significantly changed the appearance of the stained glass in the west choir. The

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zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 9); cf. most recently G. Siebert, '17.1 Glasmalerei im Westchor', p. 1136 (as in note 20).

[33] See M. Deiters, 'Erfassung und Erforschung', pp. 96 (as in note 18).

17. Karl Memminger, Paul Franke, *Archangel Gabriel*, 1876–1878, Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, window nwII,2AB. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

18. Karl Memminger, *Virtue*, watercolour, 1875. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

conservators removed dark layers that had been added in the 1870s to harmonise the differences in the lucidity of the then new parts and the medieval glass. Because the nineteenth century supplements in the medieval windows were more conspicuous after the cleaning measures, many of them, especially in the ornamental panels and to some extent in the figurative parts, were replaced by new pieces closer to the medieval colour and lucidity.[34] The remaining nineteenth century stained glass today to varying extents shows what may be the negative effects of an experimental stained glass technique and/or extensive cleaning, faults in the composition of the glass paint, or the firing temperature of the painted glasses. In some parts, such as the bishop medallions and the *Benignitas* (wnII, 10–11b), halftone layers are hardly visible and lost contours stand out in negative 'ghost lines' – a very common defect in the Naumburg Franke windows. It is a big challenge, that the concept of the currently ongoing restoration campaign with the medieval stained glass also has to take the special requirements of the nineteenth century glazing into consideration. Equally, for the ongoing CVMA research on the Naumburg medieval stained glass, it is important to have a broad understanding of the modifications and replacements that were made during the restoration and conservation works in the 1870s and those that came later in the twentieth century.[35]

The works of the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg mentioned above and the restoration and completion of the medieval glazing in the Naumburg west choir illustrate fundamental issues related to nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass restoration campaigns that were focused not only on the completion of scenes and panels but also on the (re-)construction of an aesthetic and iconographic entity. In the context of workshop practices, these are the processes of imitation, adaption and invention that determined the technique, design and stylistic approach of supplementary glazing. Associated with this are questions such as the following: What was the significance of 'authenticity' relating to specific projects? Which roles did the principal, the monuments authority, the architect and the workshop/glass painter play in determining the iconography and the artistic approach? What relationships existed between the supplementary stained glass and the autonomous glazing made by the same workshop in the same period, artistically and economically? To what extent did restoration work influence the formation of a specific workshop style? Even with these questions, it is clear that additional glazing has to be an integral part of research on nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass rather than fall into a gap between medieval and nineteenth century stained glass research.

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[34] Ibidem.

[35] In the west choir, these were the Oberberger campaign (1939–1943), which included a highly experimental cooperation with the Doerner Institut to apply new conservation materials to secure the medieval contours and paint layers, and the restoration and

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conservation by Heinz Haina, Erfurt in the 1960s, see A. Burmester, *Der Kampf um die Kunst. Max Doerner und sein Reichsinstitut für Maltechnik*, vol. 1, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2016, pp. 365–375.

SUMMARY

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MIDDLE AGES AND NINETEENTH CENTURY.
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORICAL
INTERVENTIONS IN THE DOCUMENTATION
OF AND RESEARCH ON STAINED GLASS –
A SHORT WORKING REPORT FROM CVMA
POTSDAM

Keywords: stained glass, restoration, 19th-century glazing, Naumburg

The article takes a cursory look at the activities of the CVMA Potsdam in relation to nineteenth and early twentieth century stained glass. During the inventory and documentation of the stained glass of that period in the churches of Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia from 1999 to 2006, a lot of information and photo material was collected. It gives a broad overview of iconographies, models, artists and workshops whose relevance goes beyond the scope of the specific regions of focus. In connection to the CVMA research on medieval glazing on the other hand, the surveys of restorations and supplements done in the nineteenth the and twentieth century provide insight into the specific strategies in the restoration, preservation – and interpretation – of historic monuments in the eras of romanticism and historicism. With regard to the stained glass workshops of that time, this broadens the knowledge about their capacities in the adoption of historic techniques and stylistic features, their understanding of medieval models and iconography and the extent to which those motives and characteristics found their way into the workshops' autonomous stained glass. The examples given in the text integrate restoration works with supplements to medieval glazing done by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg in the 1850s and 1880s, showing specific approaches, but also continuations of working methods. Also discussed in this article is the restoration and completion of the glazing in the west choir of the Naumburg Cathedral 1876/1878, by the Naumburg glass painter Wilhelm Franke under the direction of Karl Memminger, that combined close examination of medieval forms and iconography, ambitious artistic appropriation and experimental – and therefore vulnerable – stained glass technique.

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A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY PANEL OF HERALDIC STAINED GLASS FROM ANNESLEY OLD CHURCH (NOTTINGHAMSHIRE) IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN CRACOW

In 2019, a private collection based in Cracow acquired a panel of medieval stained glass that formerly constituted the central element of a larger quatrefoil [Fig. 1]. This circular panel (17 cm in diameter) features on a green background a shield of arms, *Paly of six argent and azure, overall a bend gules*. Of particular note is the patterning of the *argent* and *azure* sections; this takes the form either of quatrefoils enclosed within circles or squares (in the *argent* sections), or of a rinceau with leaves and tendrils (in both the *azure* sections and the green background on which the shield is set). The panel is in very poor condition. The original calmes that enclose the panel are warped and even fractured in places, which, given also the complete degradation of the later repair putty, has resulted in the individual panes' becoming very unstable. As to the condition of the glass itself, some segments have not survived (notably the *bend* and one portion of the background), and some panes are severely damaged (notably the central *pale argent*). There is extensive evidence of corrosion on the reverse of the green and white pieces, with pits in places. The glass-paint is well preserved, although it has worn off in places.

The shield of arms is that of the Annesley family. The glass's provenance is attested by the existence of a copy of it in the church at Holme (Nottinghamshire). The need for the copy was occasioned by the transferral to Holme of the remains of the stained glass at Annesley Old Church (Annesley, Nottinghamshire) – today a ruin – which originally housed the panel under consideration here. The aim of this article is to recount the principal phases in the fortunes of this stained glass.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the fabric of the church in Annesley,[1] whose origins may extend back even as far as Saxon times, was enlarged on the south side by the addition of a chantry chapel. The new structure was designed on a rectangular ground-plan and was dedicated to St Mary. Prior to this, the church had been a long, single-nave structure with a tower at the west end. The new chapel was illuminated by several windows, including an elaborate five-light window in the east wall with reticulated tracery. The chapel was founded in 1363 by William de Wakebrugge, Lord of Crich, and Robert de Annesley, rector of Ruddington.[2] A decade later, with

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[1] On the history and the furnishings of the church, see the South-well & Nottingham Church History Project: http://southwell-churches.nottingham.ac.uk/annesley-old-church/hintro.php [retrieved 31 July 2019]; on the stained glass, see esp. P.A. Newton, *Schools of Glass Painting in the Midlands 1275–1430*, PhD diss., University of London, 1961, vol. I, pp. 57–61, and vol. III, pp. 396–406; and A.B. Barton, *The Stained Glass of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire 1400–1550*, PhD diss., University of York, 2004, vol. I, pp. 91–95.

[2] R. Thoroton, *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Republished with Large Additions by John Throsby*, vol. 2, London, 1797, pp. 266–271. It has not been possible to determine the relationship between Robert de Annesley and William de Wakkebrugge (Wakebridge). We do know that in the 1360s William de Wakkebrugge funded the construction of the chantry chapel in the church in Crich (Derbyshire), and that services were to be held and prayers offered for his soul and for the soul of none other than Robert de Annesley, as well as for the souls of the latter's brother John (II) de

Fig. 1. *Shield of arms of the Annesley family*, 2nd half of the 14th century, originally in Annesley, the Old Church, currently in a private collection based in Cracow. Photo: G. Eliasiewicz

the founders having been granted a royal licence by King Edward III, the chantry was confirmed by John Thoresby, archbishop of York. It was also stipulated that in the event of the extinction of the house of Annesley, the family's right of presentation was to become void and be transferred to Felley Priory, which already held patronage of the church. It is further worth mentioning that Robert de Annesley was uncle of Sir John (III) de Annesley, whose manor was situated close to the church at Annesley.

A manuscript record of 1748 attests that at the time the east window of the chantry chapel displayed scenes of *The Birth of Jesus*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, and *The Crucifixion*, and that at the foot there was an image of the window's donor, presumably Sir John III de Annesley, with his wife and daughter.[3] To date, it has not been possible to ascertain how this scheme relates to the fourteenth-century one. The same record further makes mention of heraldic stained glass occupying the upper section of the window, probably the second row of tracery compartments: the arms of Annesley ('Paly of six argent and azure, overall a bend gules'), flanked by those of Fitzwilliam ('Lozengy gules and argent, 3, 3, 1') and Stapleton ('Argent a lion rampant sable').[4] In addition to the panels

in the east window described, other windows are mentioned, some of them also featuring heraldic motifs. The characteristic design of the east window's tracery (comprising four rows of identical quatrefoil compartments), together with a reasonably detailed 1930s inventory of the stained glass transferred from its original locations at Annesley Old Church to the church at Holme, admit the proposition that the representations of the Virgin and Christ, both enthroned (*The Coronation of Mary*), originally featured in the third row; the lowest row would have featured images of angels.[5]

Completion of a new church in Annesley in 1874[6] led to gradual dilapidation of the old church.[7] A handful of facts pertaining to the stained glass when still *in situ* in the latter building can be found in the report of a scientific field trip undertaken in June 1912.[8] A photograph of the east wall[9] of the chantry chapel shows that the Annesley arms were still visible at that time, in the central tracery compartment in the second row.

In 1932, at the initiative of Nevil Truman, Associate of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters, the chapel's east window tracery was stripped of all its remaining stained glass, including the depictions of the Virgin and

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Annesley (who had died of the plague in 1357) and his wife Anne. See J.C. Cox, *Notes of the Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. IV, Chesterfield and London, 1879, pp. 39–47; and idem, 'A parochial chartulary of the Fourteenth Century', *The Ancestor*, 6, 1903, pp. 103–118.

[3] London, British Library, Add. MS 5832, fol. 223 (dated 30 January 1748). The text is quoted by P.A. Newton, *Schools*, vol. III, p. 400 (as in note 1).

[4] Ibidem. The identification of the coats of arms deviated from the information given by R. Thoroton (*Thoroton's History*, p. 269,

as in note 2). On the discrepancy, see P.A. Newton, *Schools*, vol. III, p. 406 (as in note 1). See also E. Trollope, 'The Churches of Mansfield and other Parishes visited by the Society on the 23rd and 24th of June 1874', *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*, 12, part II, 1874, p. 170.

[5] N. Truman, 'Ancient Glass in Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 51, 1947, pp. 50–65; the key section relating to Annesley is quoted by the Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project: http://southwellchurches.history.nottingham.ac.uk/annesley-old-church/hglass.php [retrieved 1 August 2019]. Truman supposed that the angels 'once held thuribles thrown above their heads'. In his landmark work on medieval stained glass in the Midlands, Newton attributed the remnants of the stained glass from the church in Annesley now at Holme to the 'Master of Dronfield'; see P.A. Newton, *Schools*, vol. I, pp. 57–61 (as in note 1). The workshop responsible for this glass was active around 1370; the same workshop also created the glazings in Okeover, Lockington and North Winfield, which are characterised by a constantly recurring repertoire of models. Norton believed that the stained glass executed for Annesley was among the latest in this group.

[6] 'Church of All Saints', *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1275939 [retrieved 1 August 2019].

[7] J.C. Cox, *The Churches of Nottinghamshire*, London, 1912, p. 22.

[8] A.M.Y. Baylay, 'Annesley Old Church', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 16, 1912, this article available in its entirety at: *Nottinghamshire History: Resources for local historians and genealogists*, http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/articles/tts/tts1912/summer/annesleyoldchurch.htm [retrieved 1 August 2019].

[9] Also reproduced at http://southwellchurches.history.nottingham.ac.uk/annesley-old-church/plcewin1912.jpg [retrieved 1 November 2019].

Christ enthroned and two heraldic motifs. The following year, these were all installed in the two outermost lights of the five-light window behind the altar in the church at Holme. The history of this transfer and its results were relayed by Truman in a book entitled *Holme by Newark Church and its Founder* (1946), where he reminisces that 'the shields [at Holme] are copies of the originals retained by Colonel Chaworth-Musters [the then owner of Annesley Hall]. All four quatrefoils have been skilfully made up from different portions of similar designs from various parts of the Annesley glass'.[10] Elsewhere, Truman writes that Colonel Chaworth-Musters had in his possession not only 'a shield of the Annesley arms from the east window of the chapel, the arms of Lee impaling Annesley and another coat not described', but also 'a figure of S. Mary Magdalene'.[11]

In his 1961 dissertation Newton notes that at that time the stained glass with the Annesley shield of arms under consideration here was still at Annesley Hall.[12] It remains a mystery by what sequence of events the panel found its way onto the art market; one might only speculate that it resulted from the sale of Annesley Hall by the Chaworth-Musters family in the 1970s.[13] In about 1997, the panel was purchased by the art dealer Dr Barbara Giesicke, Stained-Glass Gallery Badenweiler (Germany), from Neil Phillips, who was in charge of the John Hardman Studio in Birmingham. In February 2019, she gifted it to a Polish collector, and it is currently housed in Cracow.

English version by Mariusz Szerocki
and Joseph Spooner

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[10] The text of the book is available at *Nottinghamshire History: Resources for local historians and genealogists*, http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/monographs/holmechurch1946/holmechurch3.htm [retrieved 1 August 2019]. See also N. Truman, 'Ancient Glass' (as in note 5); idem, 'Medieval Glass in Holme-by-Newark Church, Notts.', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 6, 1935, pp. 4–15, 80–88; 7, 1937, pp. 20–26; and 8, 1941, pp. 105–108. A reprint, excluding the last part, was published as 'Medieval Glass in Holme-by-Newark Church', in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 39, 1935, pp. 92–118; and 43, 1939, pp. 27–32.

[11] P.A. Newton, *Schools*, vol. III, p. 406 (as in note 1).

[12] Ibidem, p. 396.

[13] 'Annesley Hall', *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1234836 [retrieved 1 August 2019].

SUMMARY

Daniel Parello, Tomasz Szybisty
A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY PANEL OF HERALDIC STAINED GLASS FROM ANNESLEY OLD CHURCH (NOTTINGHAMSHIRE)
IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN CRACOW

Keywords: stained glass, shield of arms, Annesley, chantry, Cracow

This short account outlines the fortunes of stained glass presenting the coat of arms of the Annesley family (paly of six, argent and azure, over all a bend gules), currently in a Kraków-based private collection. The provenance of this fourteenth-century object has been traced back to one of the quatrefoil fields in the tracery of the east window of the chancery annexed to the Old Church in Annesley/Nottinghamshire (the foundation of that chapel dates back to 1363). The stained-glass was an integral part of a larger composition – even in the eighteenth century the east window of the chapel still featured it among other heraldic emblems along with scenes of *The Birth of Jesus*, *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Crucifixion*; at the bottom, there was an image of the donor of that stained glass window, supposedly John III de Annesley, with his wife and daughter. The construction of a new church in Annesley in 1874 led to the gradual dilapidation of the Old Church. In the 1930s, all the remaining stained glass hitherto ornamenting the Old Church was transferred to one of the windows in the church in Holme, except that in the case of two heraldic stained glass motifs the originals were replaced in the new location with copies, and one of them replicated the medieval Annesley escutcheon, whose genuine counterpart remained in the possession of the owner of the Annesley Hall. It is supposed that it was in the 1970s that that stained-glass object became a commodity available on the antique art market. Then, in 1997, the artefact was purchased by Barbara Gesicke, only to change hands in 2019 and start gracing a Cracow-based private collection.

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REVIEW

MICHAEL BURGER, *FENESTRAE NON HISTORIATAE. ORNAMENTALE GLASMALEREI DER HOCHGOTIK IN DEN REGIONEN AM RHEIN (1250–1350)*,

BERLIN: DEUTSCHER KUNSTVERLAG FÜR KUNSTWISSENSCHAFT, 2018 (CORPUS VITREARUM MEDII AEVI DEUTSCHLAND, STUDIEN, 3), 256 PAGES, BLACK-AND-WHITE AND FULL-COLOUR ILLUSTRATIONS

Michael Burger's book, released in 2018 as the third volume of the editorial series *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland, Studien,* represents a pioneering landmark due to the compendious character and vast scope of its discussion of the phenomenon of medieval ornamental stained glass.[1] Admittedly, researchers' interest in ornamental stained-glass windows was piqued as early as in the first half of the nineteenth century, and that point in time witnessed the rendition of documentations featuring full-colour drawings of many such complexes (which is relevantly exemplified by Sulpiz Boisserée's batch of drawings facsimileing the Gothic stained glass in Cologne Cathedral).[2] However, much as ornamental stained glass windows are widely represented and stylistically diverse, albeit they are in rather poor repair, researchers still tend to show their scholarly predilection for figural stained glass compositions. There are but a comparatively limited number of monographic studies of ornamental stained-glass glazing, and those are preponderantly concerned with artefacts in Cistercian and Franciscan architecture.[3] Few and far between are the exceptional undertakings aiming for a comprehensive overview of the tradition of ornamental stained glass, and the accomplishments meriting special mention in this respect are typified, first and foremost, by the article authored by Hartmut Scholz in 1998.[4] In addition, as the recent publication written by Burger addresses the above lacuna in the literature on this subject, a recognition and a critique are merited by this release as well.

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[1] This work is an elaboration of a PhD dissertation defended in 2015 at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg im Breisgau. To date, the author's output already comprises a number of works dealing with medieval stained glass, ornamental glazing included. M. Burger, 'Die Glasmalereien der Klosterkirche Haina aus kunsthistorischen Sicht', in *Klosterkirche Haina. Restaurierung 1982–2012*, ed. by G. Götze, Ch. Vanja, B. Buchstab, Stuttgart, 2011, pp. 141–162; idem, 'Die ornamentale Kathedralverglasung des Kölner Domes', *Kölner Domblatt*, 82, 2017, pp. 82–111; see also the study exploring correlations between the architecture and stained glass motifs in the tracery: 'Maßwerk aus Glas. Ornamentale Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Architektur und Glasmalerei', in *Im Rahmen bleiben. Glasmalerei in der Architektur des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by U. Bednarz, L. Helten, G. Siebert, Berlin, 2017, pp. 78–88.

[2] S. Boisserée, *Ansichten, Risse und einzelne Theile des Doms von Köln*, Stuttgart and Paris, 1821–1831.

[3] E.g.: H. Wentzel, 'Die Glasmalerei der Zisterzienser in Deutschland', in *L'Architecture monastique. Actes et travaux de la rencontre franco-allemand des historiens d'art. Die Klosterbaukunst. Arbeitsbericht der deutsch-französischen Kunsthistoriker-Tagung*, Mainz, 1951, pp. 173–178; E. Frodl-Kraft, 'Das "Flechtwerk" der frühen Zisterzienserfenster', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 20 (24), 1965, pp. 7–20; B. Lymant, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Zisterzienserkirche Altenberg*, Bergisch Gladbach, 1979.

[4] H. Scholz, 'Ornamentverglasungen der Hochgotik', in *Himmelslicht: Europäische Glasmalerei im Jahrhundert des Kölner Dombaus, 1248–1349*, exh. cat., Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum, ed. by H. Westermann-Angerhausen, Cologne, 1998, pp. 51–62.

The opening section of the book features a short introduction, a survey of the current state of affairs regarding the entirety of studies in the field being explored, and a very concise outline of the research sources relevant to the objective in hand (*Zur Überlieferungsproblematik*). The aforementioned section is followed by the core section of the book, and the whole publication is organized in three parts: Part I – introducing relevant terminology and technological peculiarities (*Terminologie und Herstellungsbesonderheiten*); Part II – ornamental stained-glass windows in Gothic churches (*Ornamentale Glasmalerei im gotischen Kirchenbau*); Part III – featuring a list of issues awaiting further research and settlement (*Offene Fragen*). That core segment is, by far, the most voluminous – it runs over 140 pages, with the parts flanking it extending over 37 and 21 pages, respectively. The middle, core section is preceded by a list of all bibliographic attributions, later cited in the text in abbreviated form; at the tail end of the book, the publisher has inserted an index featuring important facts, names (of both people and places) and, in addition, there is a list of all volumes of *Corpus Vitrearum* published worldwide to date.

Burger has proposed to confine the scope of his study to the period bookended by the years 1250 and 1350. The other adopted restriction pertains to the geographical compass of his study, which is declared not to go beyond the area of the Rhineland. The rationale behind such a geographical delineation is justified by that area's significant exposure and susceptibility to new artistic trends filtering through from France, the vibrancy of the Rhineland's artistic creation, and the particularly abundant treasure trove of extant artefacts from the period in hand. Notwithstanding all those restrictive parameters, the author himself occasionally refuses to toe the self-imposed line, paying much attention to glazing originated in other regions. For example, the part of the book from the pages from 101 to 106 is interspersed, among others, with digressive forays dwelling on stained glass groups in the Cistercian Church in Haina and St. Elisabeth's Church in Marburg (Hesse).

In my judgement, however, the slightly arbitrary imposition of the chronological boundaries seems deficient in terms of full validation. Though there is no gainsaying that the author provides a modicum of explanation for the timeframe-related decisions, it is not until the summary comes that his motive is stated explicitly (p. 242); indeed, the reader is made privy to the fact that the period under discussion represented the heyday of ornamental stained glass, whose popularity, subsequently, started slowly waning in the mid-fourteenth century. The artistic legacy bequeathed by that century-long period was showcased by an exhibition staged in 1998 at the Schnütgen-Museum in Cologne; that event, bearing the title *Himmelslicht: Europäische Glasmalerei im Jahrhundert des Kölner Dombaus, 1248–1349*, is frequently alluded to by the book's

author as an important referential benchmark.[5] Occupying pride of place among the objects on display were the stained glass from Cologne Cathedral. And the very same collection of stained glass is awarded by the book's author the same prominence, shared only with a few other complexes; additionally, Cologne's significance is explicitly endorsed by the author in the introduction (p. 29). One might justifiably surmise that the choice of the 1250–1350 timeframe was determined deliberately in correspondence with the scope of that exhibition, organized two decades before. We can also plausibly conjecture that the author committed himself not only to the continuation of his ongoing research on the collection of ornamental stained glass from Cologne Cathedral but also to extending the scope of his study to other similar stained glass complexes inspired by the former and/or coming into existence in close temporal proximity to the original. Pursuant to the declaration made by the author, the content of the book focuses on the examination of technological and construction-related aspects of ornamental stained glass, which stands to reason, given the almost exclusive preoccupation with the stylistic aspects hitherto privileged by other researchers. As regards the relevance of this balancing approach to the subject, a pertinent assessment will be featured towards the end of this review.

The quality of the treatise under discussion is significantly enhanced by the asset of the due amount of attention paid to terminology-related issues, which are analysed in the first part of the work. Such considerations are prefaced with a sub-chapter relating to medieval written sources (I.1. *Nicht-figürliche Fenster in mittelalterlichen Schriftquellen*, pp. 41–46), and, even though the observations enclosed there do not break any new ground, such a short outline stands the reader in good stead for further reading. When it comes to the analysis of terminological and technological aspects of ornamental stained glass, Burger's point of departure is the famous treaty *Schedula diversarum atrium* written by the German monk Theophilus. The author of that treaty originated and described the category of 'simple glazing' (*simplices fenestrae*), which was ornamental in character but devoid of any painted decorative components; nevertheless, it is open to debate whether that new terminological improvement gained any substantial currency at that time (p. 42). In my opinion, a systemic, disciplined approach to the investigation of terminological issues in research projects on medieval stained glass is not embarked upon frequently enough to address existing demand. The discussion of ornamental stained glass invariably entails the deployment of varying terms, which nevertheless are either defined by researchers in an inadequate way or misapplied due to a lack of relevant justification.

The term 'ornamental glazing' ('ornamentale Glasmalerei'), appearing in the title of the book, is freely interchanged by Burger with the term 'non-figural glazing'

[5] *Himmelslicht* (as in note 4).

('nicht-figürliche Glasmalerei'). The author, nonetheless, points out that they differentiate into two basic types: blankglazing ('Blankverglasungen'), i.e. simple glazing without any figural representation, and coloured stained glass layered with a coat of paint, which, in distinction from the former type of glass ornaments, can be reasonably categorised as legitimate stained glass painting. Burger succeeds in the differentiation of such terms as 'ornament', 'pattern', 'grisaille', as well as refusing to shy away from grappling with the seemingly trivial and self-evident question of when it is warranted to speak of figural glazing. Such a disquisition has led the author to formulate the following definition of ornamental glazing: 'Ornamental glazing, not unlike all (medieval) stained glass, comprises colourless or coloured pieces of glass which can be painted, assembled together into fields and panels by means of H-profiled lead cames and subsequently fitted into window frames. However, in contrast to stained glass depicting individual figures or narrative scenes, they are non-figural' (p. 50).[6] The definition proffered here appears very general in character, which conveniently imparts a remarkable measure of universality to it; it specifies in very succinct language the technical aspects of ornamental glazing; and yet it is flawed by the fact that its stipulation relating to the visual dimension is underpinned by a negation (i.e. 'non-figural in character'). However, on the other hand, the exact articulation of any incontrovertible and universal definitional delineation of the terms fundamental to the subject in hand does not actually seem fully feasible *per se*. As regards stained glass compositions incorporating representational elements (such as the dragons woven into the stained glass mosaic of the rose window of the Cistercian church in Pforta), Burger puts forward a categorisation prioritizing the function of the motifs; henceforth, we invoke the notion of figural representation in a stained glass composition in the contexts where those motifs' preeminent function is narrative rather than decorative (p. 52). Such a proposition seems to be a reasonable compromise. What merits particular recognition are Burger's reflections on the adequate meaning of the term 'grisaille' ('Grisailleglasmalerei').[7] This nomenclatural item is often used with reference to the monochromatic technique used in painting[8] (which also applies

to stained-glass paint characterized by black and brown hues); although the term is occasionally applied to colourless and unpainted glazing, in the author's estimation such a usage amounts to a misapplication (p. 37). The concluding part of the discussion of the terminological issues features a table displaying particular types of glazing depending on the presence of a layer of paint or hue (p. 55), and this classification distinguishes four categories of stained glass: colourless blankglazing, unpainted coloured glazing, *grisaille* stained glass, and coloured ornamental stained glass.[9]

The misapplication of the term *grisaille*, which I have alluded to before and whose rectification should be to the author's credit, took root and gained currency primarily in the English-language scholarship,[10] but it also left its mark elsewhere, as evidenced, among others, by Brigitte Lymant's monography on the stained glass complex in the Cistercian church in Altenberg, where she splits the paradigm of stained glass *grisaille* into two sub-categories: the painted and the unpainted ones.[11] The history of this term *per se* apparently dates back to the seventeenth century and, by now, has come to designate the technique used in miniature, wall and panel painting that hinges on the use of varied shades of grey.[12] As regards the medium of

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[6] 'Ornamentfenster bestehen wie alle (mittelalterlichen) Glasmalereien aus farblosen oder farbigen Glasstücken, die bemalt sein können und mittels H-förmiger Bleiruten zu Feldern zusammengesetzt in eine Fensteröffnung eingesetzt werden. Im Unterschied zu Standfiguren- oder szenischen Bildfenstern sind diese aber nicht-figürlich gehalten'.

[7] The author has recently presented his reflections on this subject in the following article: M. Burger, 'Grisaille in der Glasmalerei: ein mehrdeutiger Begriff', in *Die Farbe Grau*, ed. by M. Bushart, G. Wedekind, Berlin, 2016 (Mainzer kunstwissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 1), pp. 1–14.

[8] For more information regarding the history of this notion and its semantic range, q.v.: M. Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher. Zum*

Entstehen der Peinture en Camaieu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert, Vienna, 1995 (Wiener kunstgeschichtliche Forschungen, 6), pp. 3–6; A. Schäffner, *Terra verde. Entwicklung und Bedeutung der monochromen Wandmalerei der italienischen Renaissance*, Weimar, 2009, pp. 21–27.

[9] *Farblose Blankverglasung, farbige Blankverglasung, Grisaillefenster, farbige Ornamentfenster.*

[10] Q.v. numerous publications written by Helen Zakin focused on researching early French Cistercian stained glass whose execution entailed almost no use of paint-coated glazing and the ornament emerged thanks to suitably shaped lead cames: H.J. Zakin, *French Cistercian Grisaille Glass*, New York, 1979; eadem, 'French Cistercian Grisaille Glass', *Gesta*, 13, 1974, no. 2, pp. 17–28; eadem, 'French Cistercian Grisaille Glass. Relationships with Cistercian Patterns in Other Media', *Acta. The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York*, 2, 1975, pp. 20–41; eadem, 'Light and Pattern: Cistercian Grisaille Windows', *Arte Medievale: Periodico internazionale di critica della arte medievale*, 2nd series, 8, 1994, no. 2, pp. 9–22; quod vide e.g.: E. von Witzleben, *French Stained Glass*, London, 1968, pp. 26; R. Marks, 'Cistercian Window Glass in England and Wales', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. by Ch. Norton, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 211–227; E.C. Pastan, 'Process and Patronage in the Decorative Arts of the Early Campaigns of Troyes Cathedral, ca. 1200–1220s', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53, 1994, 2, pp. 215–231; S. Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster*, London, 2017, p. 19.

[11] B. Lymant, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien*, p. 43 (as in note 3).

[12] Cf. Dictionary definitions, e.g. *Lexikon der Kunst. Architektur, Bildende Kunst, Angewandte Kunst, Industrieformgestaltung, Kunsttheorie*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1971, p. 141 (*Grisaille*); *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by J. Turner, vol. 13, 1996, pp. 672–677 (M. Krieger, *Grisaille*);

glazing, the term *grisaille* has come to be applied to compositions executed exclusively or predominantly using colourless pieces of glass. Nonetheless, it stands to reason that in order to address the issue of the full relevance of this term, the stained glass end product ought to be characterised by the coat-of-paint component, which is in direct analogy to the genres of painting mentioned above. A stained glass work whose manufacture entailed solely the assembly of pieces of glass by means of lead cames cannot be regarded as a legitimate painting. The employment of the *grisaille* term with reference to unpainted glazing spawns unnecessary confusion, all the more that the aforementioned designation can be successfully substituted for with one of the pair of commonly recognized terms: *Blankverglasung* or blankglazing. Hence my full endorsement of the division postulated by Burger into 'farblose Blankverglasung' ('colourless blankglazing'), on the one hand, and 'farbige Blankverglasung', on the other. The definitional clear-cut split into the above two types of glazing, rooted mainly in the criterion of technical considerations, vindicates its usefulness primarily in relation to early Cistercian glazing, constituting a perfect crystallization of colourless blankglazing, in the case of which the eschewal of any glass paint was the done thing.

The next chapter (I.4. *Herstellungspraxis und Musterfindungsprozesse*, pp. 56–78) is dedicated to matters pertaining to the execution of glazing, which entails diversification of the design of ornaments in correspondence with the paradigm they belong to. This segment of the book enumerates specific features of ornamental stained glass and sheds light on the hallmarks of the manufacturing process associated with each given type of glazing. The most interesting is the fragment concerning floral ornaments and demonstrating that the design principle in the case of such motifs was informed by the laws governing geometry. This methodology is perceived by the author as being a corollary of that era's beliefs regarding the essence of the world and nature; thus, in keeping with the prevailing worldview of that day and age, both had been 'designed' by God, conceived of as the architect who had envisioned them as manifestations of mathematical principles. Additionally, the author broaches the interesting topic of the level of the artistic freedom exercised by the creators of stained glass panels. In the case of decorative motifs frequently executed on stained glass panels and mimicking the appearance of tracery, it is predominantly believed that their authors derived inspiration from ornamental features prevailing in the architectural dimension of churches' design. Burger highlights the conspicuousness of the motif of the double intersecting lancets, which can be found in the stained glass from the Dominican church in Strasburg (and currently housed in the local cathedral) and in the tracery in St Catherine's

Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 4, Munich, 2003, cols 1719–1720 (M. Grams-Thieme, *Grisaille*).

chapel of the latter church (p. 73–74). The former glazing dates back to c. 1330, whereas the latter composition is estimated to have been created between 1340 and 1345, which gives grounds for claiming the preeminent place of that motif in the stained glass trends of the day. Burger is right in noting that the motif of a rose window filled with six intersecting lancets resulting in the emergence of the contour of the Star of David appeared in French architecture at the beginning of the fourteenth century (for example, the northern transept of Sées Cathedral, the southern transept of Meaux Cathedral, as well as the northern transept of Saint-Germain Church in Auxerre,[13] which is not mentioned by the author). Therefore, the genesis of the ornamentation of that stained glass originally fitted in Strasburg's Dominican church can be regarded as an irrefutable fact; that clarity notwithstanding, there is niggling doubt as to whether that motif of intersecting lancets as appearing in the tracery in St Catherine's chapel (albeit exhibiting some alterations, as it was not inscribed in the framework of a rose window) was directly fashioned in the image of the aforementioned glazing executed several years before. In that period, such arrangements were quite common and widespread practice, and this observation can be buttressed by the following examples of fourteenth-century rose windows: in the façade of St Lawrence's Church in Nuremberg, in the southern transept in the Cistercian Church in Zlatá Koruna, and in the façade of Sandomierz Cathedral.[14]

The subsequent, second section of the book is ushered in by a very short outline of the origins of ornamental glazing (II.1. *Voraussetzungen*, pp. 79–84), and due to such brevity, the explanation of such a complex, yet crucial issue, cannot be deemed satisfactorily exhaustive. The author provides a couple of late ancient and early medieval examples of stained glass, including in his mention the seminal findings in Müstair and Sous-le-Scex, only to proceed to a cursory discussion of some forms of ornamental glazing in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The laconic character of that presentation renders the whole explanation rather inconsequential, the only inference being that glazing of this type had been a cultural fixture practically since the inception of the glazing tradition. When it comes to our knowledge of the ornamental glazing that had predated the twelfth century, researchers source their knowledge mainly from excavation projects. It is noteworthy that practically until the inception of the Carolingian era ornamental glazing reigned supreme, but,

[13] R. Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, London, 1960, p. 108.

[14] J. Kuthan, 'Königliche Klöster unter Karl IV', in *Die Zisterzienser im Mittelalter*, ed. by G. Mölich, N. Nußbaum, H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2017, pp. 363–365; A. Oleś, 'Zachodnia fasada katedry w Sandomierzu. Odkrycia konserwatorskie', *Ochrona Zabytków Sztuki. Czasopismo poświęcone opiece nad zabytkami inwentaryzacji i geografji zabytków*, 1, 1930–1931, pp. 217–219.

finally, advancements in stained glass technologies and ever-greater popularity of figural representations brought about a sea change in tastes.[15] We cannot, however, fully dignify Burger's statement that the remnants of early-medieval stained glass are few and far between. Due to archeologic research, the catalogue of available artefacts is being steadily enriched, and by now it has reached the stage where we can remarkably well trace back the development of stained glass prior to the twelfth century, even though fragmentary archeologic finds do not yield evidence as illustrative as complete panels would. Furthermore, it seems that Burger's investigation of the matters relating to the origins of and prototypes for the glazing types prevalent in the period under scrutiny could have extended its reach and attempted to illuminate such issues with reference to Rhinish works as well. No matter how challenging the following questions could be, it would have been worth the author's while to, at least, attempt to find answers to them: What examples of ornamental glazing dating from the first half of the thirteenth century can be found in this region? Can we discern any formal or technical peculiarities unique to that place and what factors would have conditioned such developments? What would have been the strategy for drawing inspiration from France?

The *pièce de résistance* of the whole treatise is the analysis of particular complexes of glazing. The first account inaugurating the series is the glazing in the Cistercian Church in Altenberg (the creation of the complete outfit took place in instalments, and the first batch dates back to the years 1260–1275, whereas the latest is estimated to have been completed between 1310 and 1320). This chapter essentially concerns itself with numerous Cistercian sets of glazing, but the author does not confine himself exclusively to the Rhineland, dedicating the space of some pages to commenting on the stained glass housed in the church in Haina (the periods of manufacture being 1260–1270, 1290–1300 and 1330–1340); nevertheless, in my judgement, that digressive foray into Haina does not seem to be duly justified for this inclusion. The Cistercian stained-glass painting is one of the cornerstones of the whole treatise, which stems from the fact that the dedicated, exclusive adherence to the tradition of non-figural glazing was cultivated in that environment from c. 1150 to 1300, and the consistency of that adherence has no analogues elsewhere. The complex of the glazing in Altenberg, although

extensively researched by Brigitte Lymant in 1987,[16] has only now been taken under the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi's* spotlight and the need for a fresh, incisive exploration of this masterpiece has become apparent. Although Burger's analysis comes across as lacking in terms of a comprehensive compass, it does represent an elaboration of facts hitherto regarded as determined, particularly in such respects as the elucidation of the evolution of the glazing within the confines of the church and the rectification of previously ascertained dates; such improvements are much indebted to new research on the architecture as well as the process of the erection of this church.[17] Treating the current state of knowledge as his point of departure for further studies, Burger has logically and consistently retraced the evolutionary trajectory of the Cistercian tradition of stained glass, which morphed from simple, abstract glazing through more refined ornamental compositions to quintessentially figural creations. The crystallization of that developmental process can be found in Altenberg and Haina, which demonstrate daring and ambitious glazing projects, taking many decades to complete. And even though the conjecture that the now extinct glazing of the east window in the Altenberg choir originally featured a figural scene is an echo of Daniel Parello's supposition,[18] the invocation of this fact takes on an added meaning in this context. The stained glass in the rose window in the west façade is one of the first representation of human figures on stained glass panels in a Cistercian church. Thus, the aforementioned surmise about yet another window fitted with depictions in that fashion would serve as a corroboration of the huge significance of such stained glass motifs, manufactured for the sake of that abbey itself but also simultaneously prompting the supersession of aesthetic principles prevailing in the Cistercian order with a new sensibility. In the case of very extensive Cistercian glazing sets, Burger proposes a subdivision into groups according to the location of windows. The remarkably organized and condensed manner of his presentation of this material, frequently commented on in previous literature, is almost encyclopaedic in character. Perfectly to the point are the author's remarks on the matter of the significance of Cistercian glazing as the only known extensive complexes encompassing exclusively ornamental compositions; however, in the very same breath, the author admits the possibility of similar complex glazing solutions having also been employed in other locations unrelated to Cistercian architecture.

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[15] As regards the evolution of the stained-glass technique in the Early Middle Ages, quod vide e.g. F. Dell'Acqua, '*Illuminando colorat': la vetrata tra l'età tardo imperiale e l'Alto Medioevo: le fonti, l'archeologia*, Spoleto, 2003 (Studi e ricerche di archeologia e storia dell'arte, 4), pp. 20–62; S. Balcon-Berry, 'Origines et évolution du vitrail: l'apport de l'archéologie', in *Vitrail Ve–XXe siècle*, ed. by M. Hérold, V. David, Paris, 2014, pp. 19–30; F. Dell'Acqua, 'Early History of Stained Glass', in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass Materials, Methods and Expressions*, ed. by B. Kurmann-Schwarz, E. Pastan, Leiden and Boston, 2019, pp. 24–30.

[16] B. Lymant, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien* (as in note 3).

[17] S. Lepsky, N. Nussbaum, *Gotische Konstruktion und Baupraxis an der Zisterzienserkirche Altenberg*, vol. 1: *Die Choranlage*, Bergisch Gladbach, 2005, vol. 2: *Quer- und Langhaus*, Bergisch Gladbach, 2012.

[18] D. Parello, 'Neue Lösungen zur Bildprogrammatik zisterziensischer Prachtfenster im 14. Jahrhundert', in *Glas – Malerei – Forschung. Internationale Studien zu Ehren von Rüdiger Becksmann*, ed. by H. Scholz, Berlin, 2004, pp. 165–180, p. 169.

The next chapter focuses on the glazing tradition wherein thanks to the introduction of figural representations in the choir's axial window (II.3. *Achsenbetonende Chorverglasungen*, pp. 107–129) this very architectural feature is brought into stark relief against the backdrop of the remaining – purely ornamental – stained glass panels. At the heart of this chapter lies the account of the glazing complex in St Elisabeth's Church in Marburg (c. 1245–1250, c. 1270, c. 1300–1310); in resemblance to the previously mentioned reservation regarding Haina, it comes across as strange that the declared scope of the treatise has been visibly waived for the sake of the unwarranted inclusion of a church situated significantly beyond the work's ambit. No doubts, however, should be raised as to the author's conclusion that the exclusive placement of figural representations in the axial choir window was explicitly preordained only in Franciscan churches (pp. 107, 125–128), as, pursuant to a decree by the Franciscan General Chapter, the display of figural representations was licensed only in the 'main', i. e. axial window of the choir. In addition, what also bears conviction is the author's demonstration that the Franciscans would not have originated that type of glazing but must have implemented already pre-existing solutions (p. 129).

The next item in the list of the analysed types of ornamental glazing is 'Kompositverglasung',[19] combining panels featuring ornamental component and figural representations; the units are organized in the same or many rows and incorporated within one stained glass window frame (II.4. *Verglasungen mit Kompositfenstern I: Ornament über Figur*, pp. 130–159). In the light of the facts cited in this book, this type of glazing seems to have gained the most ground, and so much so that Burger has been able to sub-categorize it into three variants, whose discussion takes up a sizeable portion of the book. The most generous portion of the attention Burger pays to particular complexes of stained glass is allocated to the 'combined' glazing in Cologne Cathedral, executed in the seventh decade of the thirteenth century and at the turn of the fourteenth century (II.5. *Die ornamentale Kathedralverglasung des Kölner Doms*, pp. 161–179). This measure of preoccupation is well-grounded, given the scale of that glazing complex and its significance to the whole region. Besides, this is not the first time a publication has prioritized this cathedral's glazing complex – suffice it to say that the authors of the catalogue for the previously cited 1998 Schnütgen-Museum exhibition in Cologne appreciated and advantaged the Cologne glazing so highly that it was treated as a point of reference for the selection of the exhibition material as well as for the delineation of the boundaries of the period the displayed works were associated with. This chapter, preoccupied with the Cologne complex, is based on the content of a monographic paper by the same author,

released shortly prior to this book itself.[20] Not unlike the remaining similarly focused sub-chapters of that paper, the account in the book in hand is synthetic in character and prompts the formulation of general remarks regarding ornamentation, the technicalities of design and manufacture (principles underlying composition, chromatic issues, the use of lead cames), as well as discussing the significance of Cologne's stained glass components and how they compared with their French counterparts. However, such a detailed scrutiny exclusively addressing the formal aspects completely marginalizes the need for elucidating the mystery inherent in the ingenious artistic conceit which consisted in the reintroduction (in the choir's clerestory) of already anachronistic interlace decorations and deftly juxtaposing them side by side with progressive tracery-mimicking ornaments. One would have hoped that this deliberately out-of-the-ordinary proximity of the old and the new would invite thorough analytical treatment.[21] Such an artistic solution unequivocally bespeaks archaizing connotations and, because of the type of this decorative feature and the employment of predominantly colourless glass, it conjures up the memory of early Cistercian glazing, but it would be very problematic to pinpoint any particular direct precursor of such compositions. It almost begs the question of why such exceptional compositions were used there in the first place. Could we hazard a guess that the idea of the juxtaposition of the old and the new was the brainchild of a designer intent on suggesting that the upper part of clerestory windows of Cologne Cathedral feature the older batch of glazing? To illustrate the validity of such a speculation, we may invoke the example of the new York Cathedral, erected at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This example would lend itself to exemplifying the option of re-installing old stained glass, most probably with a view to highlighting the union of the new church with its predecessor, as it was in York[22] that the eleventh-and-twelfth century colourless and unpainted ornamental glazing was re-used in the clerestory of the new church's nave. The example of York has an analogue elsewhere, as a similar aesthetic solution (interlace-motif glazing in the clerestory and predominantly figural compositions in the remaining windows) can be found in the cycle of stained-glass windows in Freiburg Minster

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[19] Fr. *verrière mixte*; previously, this type of glazing was characterized by H. Scholz, 'Ornamentverglasungen', pp. 52–59 (as in note 4).

[20] M. Burger, *Die ornamentale Kathedralverglasung* (as in note 1).

[21] The most thorough research investigating the glazing in the church's clerestory in the presbytery was written by Eva Frodl-Kraft: E. Frodl-Kraft, 'Die Ornamentik der Chor-Obergadenfenster des Kölner Domes', in *Himmelslicht*, pp. 45–50 (as in note 4). Burger makes reference to that book in the bibliography and gives an account of the state of the research, yet no allusion to that work appears in the chapter dealing with the stained glass in Cologne.

[22] Recent works on the subjects: S. Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster*, pp. 19, 46 (as in note 10).

(c. 1260–1270).[23] It is still open to debate if the aforementioned specific installation of part of the glazing in Cologne Cathedral was intended to make allusive reference to the even more distant past of that cathedral, and if so, what possible inspiration may have prompted such a solution. We must hand it to Burger that he is in the right in claiming that the prestigious rank of the cathedral should preclude the hypothesis that the presence of the simple, ornamental stained glass compositions may have resulted from asceticism or thrift (p. 179). Were we to proceed with this thought process further, we could say that the choice of this dual strategy for window glazing was apparently determined by specific aesthetic considerations, the desire to adapt the stained glass to the architectural idiom of that structure, and, last but not least, the need to illuminate the interior (the last rings particularly true in the case of Cologne, where the execution of the glazing made extensive use of colourless glass). Therefore, it would be a mistake to link the Cologne solution to some programmatic ambition aiming to intimate affinity with Cistercian stained glass, even if the latter tradition is the most representative of, and abundant in, colourless interlace-motif compositions.

As soon as the author completes the discussion of the Cologne glazing, he revisits the issue of 'combined' stained glass, matching ornamental with figural motifs (II.6. *Verglasungen mit Kompositfenstern II: Figur über Ornament*, pp. 180–193). This time, however, the exploratory spotlight is turned on the category of glazing where the renditions of human figures are placed above panels that are purely decorative in character. One of the significant examples of such an artistic solution is the stained glass complex in Kappel am Albis, in the Cistercian church dating back to the fourteenth century. Even though this glazing complex as well as the other similar examples singled out for discussion is situated in the region of Konstanz, the occurrence of suchlike collections is not unprecedented elsewhere (p. 193). The closing chapter of the second part features an analysis of some other examples of the application of ornamental glazing that could not be accommodated by any of the previously proposed categories (II.7. *Weitere Ornamentverglasungen*, pp. 194–219). This miscellaneous paradigm comprises short studies of various types of glazing segregated according to diverse criteria, such as the placement of the window relative to the design of the church, the type of the window or its unique stained-glass composition. This section familiarizes readers, among others, with another type of glazing incorporating both figural and ornamental elements; this time, however, the composition is horizontal, where the represented figures are arranged along the horizontal axis, rather than the vertical one, as was the case in the previous accounts. The history of rose windows in the Rhineland can be found in a very condensed sub-chapter covering this architectural feature (p. 204) (the remarks articulated there are commendably apt, yet they extensively draw on observations previously expressed by Robert Suckale).[24] Earlier rose windows, originally filled with figural representations in the main, were in time succeeded by purely decorative glazing, which is designated by Burger as 'ornamentalization' (*Ornamentalisierung*, p. 208). The course of that evolutionary process, if not always occurring in a linear fashion, is showcased by the two rose windows in Strasburg Cathedral – one in the southern transept, and the other in the façade. The following couple of pages feature information on the glazing originally gracing the interior of Strasburg's Dominican church (II.7.4. *Ornamentale Großmedaillonfenster: Die Glasmalereien der Straßburger Dominikanerkirche*, pp. 210–216); in the case of this stained glass, we witness the arrival of a characteristic decorative feature, namely, a large-scale medallion spanning over and across all vertical bars of a given window frame. The short next, eighth, chapter (II.8. *Ausblick*, pp. 218–219) offers the chronological finishing touches to the investigation of the phenomenon of ornamental glazing, as it gives an account of the decline of this type of decorative art around the mid- fourteenth century. The author posits that such a state of affairs was factored mainly by three reasons: the expansion of figural glazing, changes in the architectural design of windows and further sophistication of the manufacture of windowpanes. All these dynamics seem to be properly identified and convincingly rationalized. By no means, however, should the inference be drawn that ornamental stained glass made a complete disappearing act. This judgement is borne out by the two Rhinish examples from the mid-fifteenth century (Welling and Kiedrich), whose significance is all the more interesting due to their reliance on the archaizing ornamentation harking back to Romanesque interlace motifs. Thus, even though the ornamental type of glazing seems to have been running out of creative steam throughout the fourteenth century, it does not appear reasonable to marginalize its significance after that period. Ornamental stained glass was still in use, such panels often being installed as part of a cycle, except that the choice regarding installation was restricted to selected church windows;[25]

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[23] R. Becksmann, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Freiburg im Breisgau*, Berlin, 2010 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland, II.2), vol. 1, pp. 210–212.

[24] R. Suckale, 'Thesen zum Bedeutungswandel der gotischen Fensterrose', in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter*, ed. by K. Clausberg, D. Kimpel, Gießen, 1981, pp. 259–294 [rpt. in: ibidem, *Stil und Funktion: Ausgewählte Schriften zur Kunst des Mittelalters*, ed. by P. Schmidt, G. Wedekind, Munich and Berlin, 2003, pp. 327–360].

[25] We may invoke here the example of the apparent presence of ornamental stained glass in both lateral windows flanking the 5/8 polygonal apse in St Mary's Church in Cracow; those decorations were incorporated in the complex figural design including all remaining windows of the presbytery; these stained-glass panels date from the seventh decade of the fourteenth century (L. Kalinowski, H. Małkiewiczówna, D. Horzela, *Die*

additionally, builders resorted to 'combined' compositions. To a certain extent, the subtle floral motifs ornamenting the stained glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries found a successor in the branchwork placed in the upper sections of late Gothic compositions and functioning as baldachins stretched over figural representations, but the branchwork was a decoration in its own right as well. Suffice it to mention Nuremberg's Volckamer Window in St Lawrence's Church dating from 1481 or the glazing of the Scharfzandt Window in St Mary's church in Munich dating from 1483.[26] Nor can we overlook the survival of the ornamental form used for filling up tracery fields.

Essentially, Burger envisions the second section of his book as being structured according to two criteria, segregating the vast array of the types of glazing selected for examination: first, compositional issues and, second, those pertaining to the location in a given interior. It is no wonder, then, that separate treatment has been given to the glazing installed in the lateral windows of the choir ('Achsenbetonende Chorverglasungen'); other types of glazing that are examined separately are the three types of 'combined' glazing embracing both ornamental and figurative elements ('Kompositverglasungen'). Another instance of a separate examination concerns cycles exclusively comprised of ornamental compositions in the Cistercian churches in Altenberg and Haina; likewise, a separate examination was given to other types of ornamental glazing, selected on the basis of several criteria: the type of the window (rose windows), the location (the glazing in the clerestory area), and the composition (large-size medallions). Notwithstanding the fact that the criteria underlying the typological division are not fully consistent and clear-cut, the proposed breakdown is sufficiently transparent not to raise any objections. Burger's *modus operandi* with respect to the differentiation of glazing types puts a premium on the most general hallmarks, hence the intelligibility and transparency of this classification. The developmental aspects of the presentation are addressed properly, thus the sequence of particular accounts generally unfolds in keeping with the chronology of the events. Thanks to this orderly sequencing we may draw the well-grounded conclusion that Rhinish ornamental glazing underwent an evolution in the 1250–1350 period. That is so because the organization of the material tellingly shows, among others, that the glazing complexes where the axial window was accentuated by means of the backdrop of figural compositions came into existence only in the second half of the thirteenth century, whereas

compositions featuring figural representations above ornamental panels were popular in the Constance region mainly in the first three decades of the fourteenth century. However, when it comes to judging the reasonability of the arrangement of the presentation envisioned as the introduction of general rules of composition subsequently followed by further analysis delegated to sub-units of the chapters dealing with given works, my opinion is that this methodology seems to be a drawback of the book, as this has resulted in the omission of many significant aspects of the works analysed.

The final, third, section of this publication bears the title 'Debatable Issues' (III. *Offene Fragen*, pp. 220–241); it is markedly shorter than the previous two sections and leaves the most to be desired of all. In a multi-pronged as well cross-sectional manner, it concentrates on artistic issues (III.1. *Entwicklungsgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge*, pp. 220–230) and geographical correlations (III.3. *Topografische Zusammenhänge*, pp. 234–241); furthermore, the issue of the capitalization value of stained-glass works is also discussed in a separate unit (III.2. *Exkurs: Der Wert ornamentaler Glasmalerei*, pp. 231–233). It is certainly worth commenting, and favourably so, on the sub-unit focusing on the chromatic range and properties of ornamental stained glass, wherein Burger reflects on whether one could descry any linear progression from colourless to more colourful glazing (III.1.1. *Farbigkeit*, pp. 221–224). Indeed, in the case of the previously discussed sets of Cistercian stained glass in Altenberg and Haina, where the execution of the decoration spanned a couple of decades, one can observe such a phenomenon, consisting in the gradual relaxation of the original aesthetic strictures (which is vividly illustrated by the book's author – ills 382 and 383). Still, even in Altenberg itself we can see departures from that straightforward and logical evolutionary pattern, as at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Cistercians were already accustomed to the practice of using coloured glass, they applied colourless, unpainted lozenge-shaped glazing in the choir's clerestory of their church. The author's analysis of other examples, albeit unrelated to the White Monks' artistic sensibilities, has led him to the conclusion that the period under discussion saw the parallel existence of two types of glazing: for one, it was the grisaille tradition, for another, the practice of coloured glazing. Likewise, a similarly non-linear and inconsistent pattern of development has been asserted by the author with respect to drawings that adorned Rhinish ornamental glazing (pp. 224–226). In the synoptic summary of the issue of the presence of drawings on ornamental stained glass (and it must be stressed here that this phenomenon has been given conspicuously short shrift in this book), Burger emphasizes the significance of such an analysis as being conducive to the isolation and designation of various chronological and manufacture-related sub-groupings within the framework of one glazing complex. Subsequent to that part, there follow some paragraphs dedicated to the discussion of unpainted glazing.

mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in der Stadtpfarrkirche Mariä Himmelfahrt in Krakau, mit einer kunstgeschichtlichen Einleitung von M. Walczak, ed. D. Horzela, Cracow, 2018 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Polen, I, 1), p. 155).

[26] H.P. Frankl, *Peter Hemmel. Glasmaler von Andlau*, Berlin, 1956, pp. 100–104 (Nuremberg), pp. 104–115 (Munich).

The author is absolutely right in claiming the longevity of the popularity of that type and stresses a particularly bad state of preservation in the case of such works, with the latter reflecting restrictively on the scope and quality of research. Such statements are followed by the hypothesis that the paucity of extant works of this type will have arisen from their little perceived value in the past: any renovation would have been regarded economically unviable and the replacement of such glazing would have been the policy of choice. Next, the spotlight is turned on the patterns used on Rhinish ornamental stained glass, but the method of presentation is confined almost exclusively to a cursory enumeration of the types of the decorations. That finished, the author offers a succinct review of decorative motifs and compositional strategies, which lies at the heart of the conclusion that particular formal aspects of ornamental glazing are to a point conducive to determining their age (p. 230). No matter how pessimistic the statement is about the limited availability of ornamental stained glass specimens, it does have a measure of validity: any researcher endeavouring to study medieval ornamental glazing will have limited room for manoeuvre, as this brand of stained glass is certainly more problematic for analysis and adequate characterisation of its aspects than the figural counterpart is. But, on the other hand, the question could be raised as to whether in the face of such limited opportunities for the study of the formal dimensions of this type of glazing it would not be worthwhile to broaden the field of research by annexing other attendant areas of interest. These could concern such matters as the broadly defined function of ornamental glazing, reasons for its popularity, how it was perceived as a marketable commodity or what prestige such artefacts claimed, and the circumstances and intentions conditioning the selection of a given composition.

The author's foray into the territory of the issues of the monetary value of glazing should be regarded as an important asset of the book, this topic being as interesting as it is practically unexplored. The issue of the importance of the economic factor in choosing the type of glazing particularly often appears in the literature on Cistercian glazing. Still, there has been significant disagreement[27] in the research community as to whether colourless glazing incurred lower expenditure than the coloured counterpart and whether that factor could have tipped the balance in favour of selecting the former. And, in addition, the majority of claims advanced by both sides have largely been uncorroborated by any documentation, as written records listing prices of glass depending on the hue are extremely rare. To Burger's credit, he has managed to seek out the 'hard evidence' of such written records and he cites fragments of bills for the glazing of St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster Palace (1351). Such a documentation proves beyond any doubt that the procurement of colourless glass incurred several times lower costs than in the case of the purchase of coloured glass.[28] And yet we ought not to leap to the conclusion that the reason for the preference given to ornamental glazing dominated by the presence of colourless glass resided primarily in making economies – and the author rightly observes that this kind of simplistic, suppositional shortcut would not stand to reason in the case of Cologne Cathedral, for example.

Last, but not least, in the author's list of important topics for discussion is the issue of regional specificity of glazing (pp. 234–241). Burger distinguishes what he believes to have been important stained-glass centres, which afforded inspiration and informed artistic activity in the surrounding regions, respectively, even though, in some respects, that alleged key role of particular centres should be viewed as no more than inferential only: the area near the sources of the Rhine river was dominated by Constance and Basil; the Upper Rhine had such a hub in Strasburg; the Middle Rhine's centres were in Worms, Mainz, and Frankfurt; and the region downstream the river boasted the Lower Rhine's Cologne and Westphalia's Soest. When it comes to the output of the stained glass workshops operating in those centres, the author identifies recognizable local stylistic common denominators, such as the preference for geometric glazing featuring rapport patterns ('Rapportmuster') in Strasbourg, and the particular popularity of colourless glass in the Lower Rhine region. Despite all that, however, one may still raise objections to the cursory treatment of the subject by the author.

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[27] Some researchers have deemed that white-glass pieces would have entailed much lower costs than coloured ones: B. Lymant, 'Die Glasmalerei bei den Zisterziensern', in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Abtei Brauweiler. Aachen, 3. Juli – 28. September 1980*, Cologne and Bonn, 1980, p. 347; J. Rüffer, *Orbis cisterciensis. Zur Geschichte der monastischen ästhetischen Kultur im 12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1999, p. 368; A. Schäffner, *Terra verde*, p. 32 (as in note 8). Others have claimed that the costs in both cases were comparable, hence such scholars' contention that the financial aspects were only a marginal factor underlying the emergence the Cistercian preference regarding glazing options, e.g.: H. Wentzel, *Die Glasmalerei* (as in note 3); H.J. Zakin, *French Cistercian*, pp. 203–204 (as in note

10); P. Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude. Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England*, Princeton, 1984, p. 64 – this author went as far as to claim that white glass was the most difficult to manufacture, and therefore its prices were the highest.

[28] The issue of the correlation between the pricing of glass and its colour in the Middle Ages has recently been presented in a new light by Meredith Parsons Lillich, who, drawing on authentic written source materials, has concluded that in the majority of cases glass panes were priced on a relative par across the full range of various hues (M.P. Lillich, 'French Grisaille Glass', in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass. Materials, Methods and Expressions*, ed. by B. Kurmann-Schwarz, E. Pastan, Leiden and Boston, 2019, p. 282). The English market was an exception, as coloured windowpanes had to be imported from abroad.

In my judgement, the final, synthetic part should have been treated as the fulcrum of the entire publication, for it features observations of a comprehensive nature and conclusions drawn from individual analyses of particular works, as well as throwing light on a raft of salient issues. Disappointingly, however, the accounts of specific topics in this section are particularly laconic in character. Such a high level of succinctness creates the impression of a degree of insight that is cursory and not sufficiently thorough. Likewise, the title of the last part ('Unsettled Questions') raises questions regarding its relevance, and that is so because there are rather few questions articulated here. Moreover, the scope of the accounts of individual problematic aspects is tantamount to that typical of thumbnail sketches. In this section, one would have expected the formulation of concrete statements pinpointing the thematic areas where further study was still required, thereby paving the way for follow-up research. Instead, this part has been conceptualised, essentially, as a recapitulative summary of specific aspects of glazing, though in the majority of cases original characterizations in themselves are only perfunctory. What is more, the number of concrete examples to which the author makes reference is rather limited, and, on occasion, it is not obvious to the reader what kind of problems or questions Burger believes still await resolution. Rather, this final part could have easily been imagined as the publication's merit-related 'centre of gravity'. This argument is premised on the fact that the most capacious, second part of the book, dealing with the dissection of particular glazing complexes, is not sufficiently informatively revealing, given that advanced research on specific stained glass complexes has by now led to the accumulation of a sizeable body of knowledge. In no way does the title suggest the intended focus of the book exclusively on matters concerning compositional and technical considerations. On the contrary, the title announces that this publication should have been an exhaustive and comprehensive account of Rhinish ornamental stained glass within the confines of the specified period. It would be more plausible if Part III were recast as a wide-ranging synthesis of various problems; first, multi-faceted issues would have to be inventoried, then they should be analysed in depth, whereupon questions should be formulated as prompted in the course of the analysis and cueing the directions in which subsequent research projects could proceed.

As hinted previously, the majority of the glazing complexes discussed by Burger have been, to a lesser or greater extent, thoroughly researched before, be it in volumes released under the aegis of *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* or in other publications. Burger draws extensively on those findings, and his observations do not seem to merit trailblazing status. That said, we must do this researcher justice and acknowledge his rectification of some data in the existing body of knowledge. The accounts of particular works primarily aim to characterize compositional types, with the intended result of forging a lucid typology of this phenomenon. Given the researcher's exclusive dedication to formal considerations, sadly, it would have been a foregone conclusion that such matters as the content and functions of glazing would be jettisoned. Truth be told, there are rare occasions on which these otherwise neglected issues are alluded to, but the comments are markedly sparse. For example, in the final part summing up various aspects of glazing, we can read only the following comment: 'floral motifs invested with some symbolic meaning were at a premium, as evidenced by that of a vine being suggestive of the Eucharist' (p. 228).[29] Yet the author neglects to elaborate further on such a laconic statement, nor is its legitimacy buttressed by a footnote citation. Confronted with such a simplistic attitude to such a complex issue as ornamental stained glass works are, one may get the wrong impression that such creations are solely an aesthetic way of filling in window orifices and are otherwise devoid of any profound message. The privileging of formal matters and the composition of works, in particular, leads to the dilution of any other aspects, as one analysis after another restricts the treatment of stained glass to one overriding consideration only. Still, it must be admitted that each and every glazing complex cannot help raising questions relating to the rationale behind the selection of a particular type of stained glass as well as to the implementation of other decorative solutions. Except for the obvious cases where due to the conventual regulations the type of church-interior glazing was a preordained issue, the author does not discuss the full range of determining factors behind the process of selection. A similar objection relating to the paucity of the attention paid by the author could be raised in connection with the insufficient treatment of colourless glazing and the examination of the reasons for its popularity in the analysed period. Addressing such issues is all the more advisable because the overall scale of window areas fitted with colourless glass seems to imply its intimate correlation with the period's artistic trends in architecture and decoration, with the ultimate priority given to the issue of the illumination of interiors. What is also conspicuously absent from the analysis is a discussion of decorative solutions in the context of particular interiors, their architectural parameters and furnishings. It is also recommendable that a question be formulated as to whether a particular aesthetic effect was striven for and whether within the confines of one architectural structure we can see tokens of formal consistency harmonizing works executed according to varied techniques. Furthermore, another important issue whose examination should be embarked upon is the content of items of glazing. In the chapter dealing with workmanship-related issues, the author himself does suggest an interesting approach (I. 4), drawing an analogy between the creation of geometric compositions and the conception of

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[29] 'Pflanzenmotive mit einer symbolischen Bedeutung, wie beispielweise Weinlaub als Hinweis auf die Eucharistie, werden dabei bevorzugt'.

God as an architect, bringing the world into existence in keeping with the laws of mathematics. However, this issue ought to have been elaborated on more extensively.

Notwithstanding all the reservations and comments expressed above, Michael Burger's book should, no doubt, be deemed an important and useful addition to the scholarship dedicated to medieval stained glass. By dint of its clear, logically organized structure, useful and generally convincing classification of ornamental glazing as well as the high level of editorial merit, this publication, featuring also 447 illustrations, is bound to represent a boon for future researchers.

Translated by Mariusz Szerocki

KRONIKA
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ODCZYTY W ROKU 2018

11 I mgr Weronika Rostworowska-Kenig, *Katedra krakowska w 1. połowie wieku XIX – od nekropolii królów do panteonu narodowego*

Celem referatu jest analiza transformacji katedry krakowskiej, będącej od epoki średniowiecza nekropolią polskich władców, w panteon narodowy. W przypadku przełomu XVIII i XIX wieku nadanie kościołowi takiego miana wiązało się ze ściśle określonym procesem, rządzącym się swoimi prawami i zachodzącym w krajach, w których powstawały narody w nowoczesnym rozumieniu. Przedstawiono krótką charakterystykę takich realizacji na podstawie kilku najważniejszych europejskich świątyń, w których rozwijała się idea „panteonizacji": kościoła św. Genowefy w Paryżu, kościołów londyńskich – opackiego w Westminsterze i katedry św. Pawła, a także rzymskiego Panteonu urządzonego według koncepcji Antonia Canovy. Oprócz nich zwrócono szczególną uwagę na florencką bazylikę Santa Croce, która z czasem zyskała miano włoskiego panteonu narodowego i wskazano na jej analogie z katedrą krakowską. Jednym ze związków pomiędzy oboma kościołami są dwa identyczne pomniki polskiego malarza Michała Bogorii Skotnickiego (zm. 1808). Monument ten stał się punktem wyjścia dla analizy artystycznego funkcjonowania panteonów: florenckiego i krakowskiego, jako miejsc, gdzie nie tylko honoruje się zasłużonych mężów (*illustri uomini*), lecz które także oddziałują poprzez wrażenia estetyczne (dzięki najlepszym przykładom

ówczesnej rzeźby sepulkralnej). Ten dychotomiczny charakter florenckiej realizacji widoczny jest również w katedrze krakowskiej, w której podziemiach obok królów umieszczono szczątki bohaterów narodowych, u góry zaś w przestrzeni katedry prezentowano powszechnie dostępne monumenty, stanowiące wizualny aspekt komemoracji i współtworzące ogólną ideę panteonu.

8 II dr Jakub Adamski, *O genetycznej i chronologicznej zależności portali augustiańskiego kościoła św. Katarzyny na Kazimierzu w Krakowie i fary św. Elżbiety w Koszycach*

Tekst opublikowany jako:
O genetycznej i chronologicznej zależności portali augustiańskiego kościoła św. Katarzyny na Kazimierzu w Krakowie i fary św. Elżbiety w Koszycach, „Folia Historiae Artium", Seria Nowa, 16, 2018, s. 35–61

8 III prof. Wojciech Bałus, *Lech Kalinowski, Erwin Panofsky, Hans Sedlmayr i problem z ikonologią*

Lech Kalinowski (1920–2004) w latach 1964–1965 przebywał w The Institute for Advanced Study w Princeton i tam osobiście poznał Erwina Panofsky'ego. Jednym z efektów owego pobytu był artykuł *Ikonologia czy ikonografia? Termin ikonologia w badaniach nad sztuką Erwina Panofsky'ego* przedstawiony na posiedzeniu Komisji Teorii i Historii Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie w roku 1970 i opublikowany dwa lata później po polsku. W artykule tym autor postawił tezę, że „stanowisko Panofsky'ego wobec terminu ikonologia było pełne zastrzeżeń i powściągliwe, a w pewnym stopniu nawet negatywne". Swą rację udowadniał wychodząc od dziejów pojęć „ikonologia" i „ikonografia". Wskazał najpierw, że słowo ikonologia, znane już Platonowi, rozpowszechniło się – m.in. dzięki książce Cezarego Ripy – w okresie wczesnej nowożytności i oznaczało wówczas normatywną, wzorcową wiedzę o obrazowym przedstawianiu pojęć ogólnych. Zmiana znaczenia nastąpiła na początku XX wieku, kiedy to terminem tym zaczęto określać metodę badania dzieła sztuki. Słowo użyte najpierw w formie przymiotnikowej przez Aby

Warburga, i tak powtórzone w podtytule rozprawy Georga Frommholda o idei sprawiedliwości w sztukach przedstawiających (*Eine ikonologische Studie*), w formie rzeczownikowej zastosowane zostało po raz pierwszy przez Godefridusa Johannesa Hoogewerffa na określenie postępowania badawczego wyjaśniającego dzieło sztuki. Ikonologia dla holenderskiego historyka sztuki nadbudowywała się nad ikonografią, która była opisowa i inwentaryzacyjna, podczas gdy ikonologia miała charakter interpretacyjny. Ale obok Hoogewerffa w rozprawie pojawiły się odniesienia do dwóch innych badaczy o ikonologicznym nastawieniu: Panofsky'ego i Sedlmayra. Pierwszy z nich jako metodolog przywołany został tylko raz i to wyraźnie *en passant*, w przypisie, jako ten, który we wstępie do *Studies in Iconology* „obok innych podstawowych pojęć ikonologii (…) udowadnia, że w średniowieczu klasyczne motywy były stosowane do nieklasycznych tematów". Natomiast drugi, posługujący się terminem ikonologia od końca lat 40. XX wieku (najprawdopodobniej od roku 1948), cytowany był szeroko we fragmencie mówiącym o generalnej zmianie, jaka zaszła w pojmowaniu sztuki w XII wieku.

Jak się wydaje Kalinowski dopiero pod koniec lat 50. XX wieku doszedł do przekonania, że metoda Panofsky'ego jest najbardziej płodna poznawczo. W tekście *Ikonologia czy ikonografia?* pisał: „Dopiero przez odczytanie wzajemnych powiązań wszystkich trzech zachodzących na siebie i wzajemnie oddziaływających na siebie warstw można wyjaśnić treści artystyczne i ideowe dzieła sztuki przedstawiającej". Pod koniec lat 50. XX wieku uczony zaczął też na swoich seminariach polecać studentom referowanie artykułów Panofsky'ego.

Przemiany, jakim ulegały poglądy metodologiczne Kalinowskiego od końca lat 40. XX wieku do końca następnej dekady znakomicie pokazują, że propozycja Panofsky'ego nie zrodziła się w próżni, lecz była kolejnym krokiem w dyskusjach nad sposobami badania treści dzieła sztuki. Badacze już wtedy mogli wybierać pomiędzy kilkoma odmianami ikonologii. Ta świadomość wyczuliła Kalinowskiego na używanie terminu ikonologia i pozwoliła mu dostrzec podobne wahania u autora *Studies in Iconology*. Artykuł krakowskiego uczonego z 1972 roku miał pokazać, że nie można automatycznie łączyć Panofsky'ego pojęciem ikonologii, bo pomysłów tak nazwanych było więcej i nie zawsze były one zgodne z ideami profesora z Princeton.

12 IV dr hab. Marek Walczak, dr Dobrosława Horzela, *Po rewolucji. Badania nad sztuką średniowieczną w Polsce od roku 1989*

Tekst opublikowany jako:
After the Revolution: Medieval Art Studies in Poland since 1989, [w:] *Umění a revoluce: pro Milenu Bartlovou, Vysoká škola uměleckoprůmyslová v Praze*, red. J. Lomová, J. Vybíral, Praha 2018, s. 66–99; *Badania nad sztuką średniowieczną w Polsce po roku 1989*, „Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne", t. 11 (15), 2018, s. 262–297

10 V dr Mikołaj Getka-Kenig, *Traktat Sebastiana Sierakowskiego a problem popularyzacji wiedzy architektonicznej w Polsce na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*

Tekst opublikowany jako:
Traktat Sebastiana Sierakowskiego a problem popularyzacji wiedzy architektonicznej w Księstwie Warszawskim, „Modus. Prace z Historii Sztuki", 18, 2018, s. 63–91

21 VI dr Waldemar Komorowski, *Panoramy Krakowa czasów staropolskich. Obraz, znak, symbol, tekst*

Tekst opublikowany jako:
Widoki portretowe Krakowa z czasów staropolskich w badaniach historii miasta. Obraz, znak, symbol, tekst, „Zapiski Historyczne", 84, 2019, z. 1, s. 135–167

11 X dr Piotr Pajor, *Transept katedry krakowskiej jako miejsce kultu św. Stanisława w XIV wieku – ewolucja koncepcji architektonicznej i topografii sakralnej*

W referacie zaprezentowano propozycję nowego odczytania faz budowy i przemian koncepcji architektonicznej centralnej części katedry na Wawelu oraz dziejów relikwii św. Stanisława w XIII i XIV wieku. Zarówno znane od czasu badań architektonicznych Sławomira Odrzywolskiego, jak i odkryte podczas niedawnych prac remontowych relikty w transepcie pozwalają na rekonstrukcję pierwotnego projektu katedry (z około roku 1320), który zakładał wzniesienie bardzo wąskiej nawy poprzecznej. Około roku 1340 lub nieco później transept został poszerzony do dzisiejszej postaci. Ustalenia te korespondują z wynikami analizy źródeł dotyczących lokalizacji relikwii św. Stanisława. Wbrew powszechnej opinii, według której główna partykuła relikwii już od kanonizacji w połowie XIII wieku spoczywała pośrodku katedry romańskiej, wydaje się, że aż do około połowy XIV wieku szczątki świętego biskupa znajdowały się w kaplicy św. św. Piotra i Pawła, przyległej do nawy południowej. W związku z tym wydaje się, że poszerzenie transeptu wiązało się z decyzją o translacji relikwii na środek kościoła i organizacji odpowiedniej oprawy ich kultu; inne partykuły relikwii św. Stanisława czczono jednak w dwóch przyległych do korpusu kaplicach. Rozwiązanie to, nawiązujące może do architektury wczesnochrześcijańskiej, wydaje się jedną z najoryginalniejszych aranżacji tego rodzaju w architekturze późnośredniowiecznej.

22 XI mgr Justyna Łuczyńska-Bystrowska, *Neapolitański brewiarz lat około 1471–1475 w Bibliotece XX. Czartoryskich (sygn. Ms. Czart. 1211 IV) – dekoracja malarska i pismo*

Przedmiotem wystąpienia był franciszkański brewiarz (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Oddział Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, sygn. 1211 IV) iluminowany w Neapolu przez Colę i Narda Rapicanów, miniaturzystów prowadzących królewskie skryptorium w Castel Nuovo w 2. połowie XV wieku. Na podstawie kalendarza rękopis datowany jest między 1458 a 1476 rokiem. W 1621 roku, kiedy kodeks został ofiarowany królowi Zygmuntowi III Wazie, dolna część bordiury na s. 21 została przemalowana, a oryginalną tarczę herbową zastąpiono herbem papieża Urbana IV (1261–1264). M. Jarosławiecka-Gąsiorowska (*Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée des Princes Czartoryski, à Cracovie*, „Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproduction de Manuscrits à Peinture",

t. 18, 1935, s. 91–103) uznała, że przemalowana została jedynie tarcza herbowa, zaś otaczające ją czerwone pole z tiarą i kluczami piotrowymi należy do oryginalnej dekoracji malarskiej. Na tej podstawie badaczka związała rękopis z aktualnie zasiadającym na tronie piotrowym papieżem, Sykstusem IV (1471–1484). Nie można jednak zgodzić się z tą hipotezą ze względu na nietypowy dla brewiarza program ikonograficzny miniatur, który zdaje się być przeznaczony dla konkretnego, świeckiego odbiorcy z kręgu dworskiego. Ponadto, na zworniku gotyckiego sklepienia namalowanego na s. 21 znajduje się herb dynastii Aragonów. Zdaniem referentki brewiarz został wykonany dla królowej Neapolu Izabeli de Chiaromonte (1458-1465), pierwszej żony Ferdynanda I (zm.

1494). Podczas wystąpienia została omówiona dekoracja malarska brewiarza, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem relacji miniatur i tekstu, który ilustrują, oraz kontekstu sztuki iluminatorskiej w Neapolu za panowania Ferdynanda I.

20 XII mgr Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, dr Marcin Szyma, dr hab. Marek Walczak, *„Madonny Jackowe”. Artystyczne i kultowe aspekty alabastrowych rzeźb w Krakowie, Przemyślu i Lwowie*

Tekst opublikowany jako:
„Madonny Jackowe”. Kultowe i artystyczne aspekty alabastrowych figur w Krakowie, Przemyślu i Lwowie, „Rocznik Krakowski”, 85, 2019, s. 49–107